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HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BY W. C. TAYLOR, ESQ.

WITH ADDITIONS

BY WILLIAM SAMPSON, ESQ.

WITH ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

New-York:

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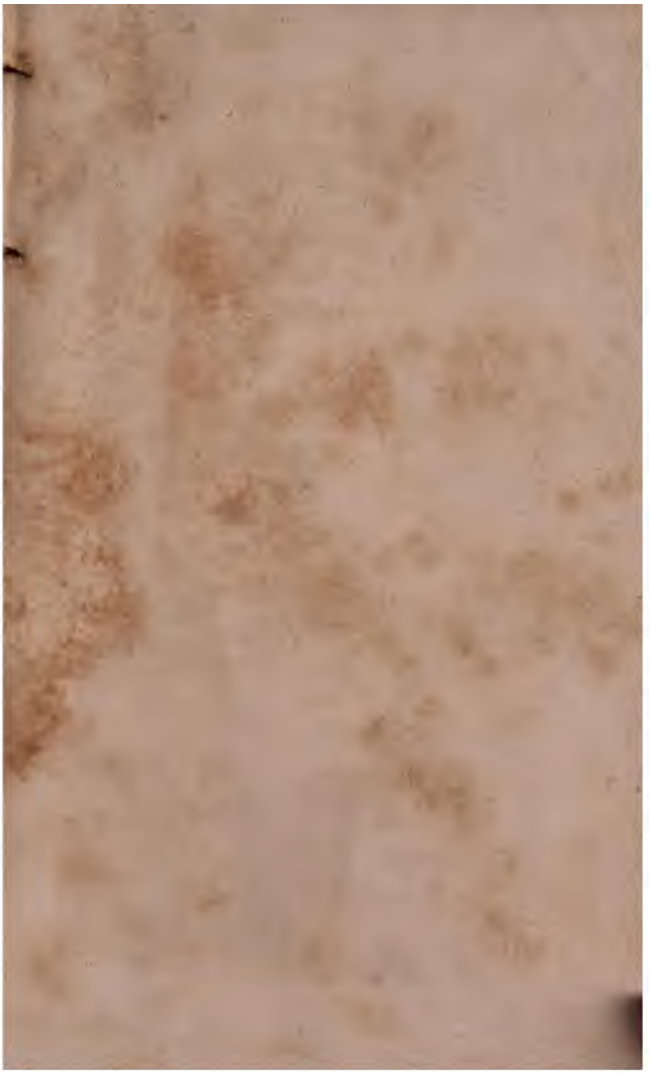
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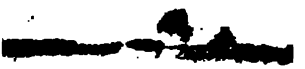




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HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM

THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION

TILL

THE UNION OF THE COUNTRY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

BY W. C. TAYLOR, ESQ., A.B.
Of Trinity College, Dublin.

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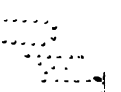
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dom they could not controvert, almost for the sake of showing the lord-lieutenant that they possessed the power of opposition.

The principal cause of this ruinous jealousy was the scandalous duplicity of the late king, and the reckless profligacy of his heir. The Irish had been taught, by the mission of Glamorgan, that Charles was willing to grant them terms far more favourable than those offered by Ormond; they consequently viewed the marquis as the secret enemy of their cause, and suspected that he would labour to prevent them from enjoying the royal graces. Prince Rupert, who commanded the royal fleet on the coast, encouraged these opinions; and from jealousy, or some worse motive, exerted himself strenuously to thwart the Marquis of Ormond. Had the king, as had been often proposed, proceeded to Ireland, and placed himself at the head of the confederates, these evils would have been alleviated, perhaps removed; but Charles II. possessed not the spirit for such an enterprise. He preferred the safer mode of perjury and insincerity; and therefore, having wasted his time until Ireland was lost irrecoverably, proceeded to Scotland, where he took the covenant.

The prospects of the royalists at this time were very encouraging. The parliamentarians retained possession only of Derry and Dublin, with some adjacent posts. Sir Charles Coote, the governor of Derry, was ready to engage with that party which had the fairest prospect of success; and a great number of the officers and soldiers in Dublin were well disposed to join Ormond, their ancient leader. One brief but vigorous effort would have saved Ireland; but those who wielded the destinies of the country were destitute of vigour or exertion.

The capture of Dublin would have ensured the royalists the quiet possession of the kingdom; and this was accordingly the first enterprise they resolved to undertake. But such was the neglect and insin-

cerity of all parties, that May had arrived before any active preparations were made to take the field. The subsidies promised by the council of the confederates at Kilkenny were not raised; and the commissioners of trust showed no anxiety to provide for the wants of the army. Ormond remonstrated in vain against this neglect; and it was late in June before that, having borrowed some small sums on his personal credit, he could muster a respectable body of troops. Fresh mortifications met him from another quarter. Prince Rupert, whom he had requested to blockade the Bay of Dublin, while he pushed the siege by land, positively refused obedience, and remained with his fleet in one of the southern harbours. After a vain display of their troops before Dublin, which Ormond seems to have expected would have produced an insurrection of the royalists in the city, it was determined to reduce the garrisons of Drogheda and Dundalk, before besieging the capital; and the conduct of this enterprise was intrusted to Lord Inchiquin. Drogheda, after a brief siege, was taken by assault. Dundalk, though commanded by Monk, surrendered; and several castles which had been seized by O'Neill, were reduced by a body of the confederates under Lord Castlehaven.

Before Ormond's army could be reassembled, the garrison of Dublin was reinforced by the parliamentary colonels Coote and Venables, with two thousand six hundred soldiers, and a large supply of provisions and ammunition. At the same time, news arrived that Cromwell, having assembled a powerful army, was preparing to sail over to Munster, where he hoped to be joined by several of the puritans. It was indeed well known to all the leaders, that the ultra-protestants in Youghal, Kinsale, and Cork, were secretly inclined to favour the cause of the parliament; for, with them, hatred of popery was a much more powerful feeling than love of their sovereign.



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Gladwin & Hall, Sculp.

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A council of war was held on the receipt of this alarming intelligence; and, after long deliberation, it was resolved to send Lord Inchiquin, with eleven hundred horse, to secure the province of Munster! The impolicy of weakening an army already inadequate to the operations that had been undertaken, and the utter absurdity of sending such a trifling force to secure an entire province, are sufficiently obvious; yet were the resolutions of the council not wholly indefensible. Inchiquin was regarded by the confederates with equal fear and hatred. His hands were red with the blood of their murdered brethren. His unrelenting enmity to the religion was not disguised, even while he fought in their ranks. To remove him, therefore, to a different sphere of action, was the only means by which the confederates believed that peace could be preserved in their camp. Ormond consented to the arrangement from a different motive. He thought that the fanatics of Youghal might be kept in their loyalty, by being placed under a commander as bigoted as themselves: and if Cromwell was excluded from the garrisoned towns, he trusted that the difficulties of the country, and an active guerilla warfare, would force him to return home.

The army of the confederates still seemed sufficient for the capture of Dublin, and was successful in reducing several important posts in the neighbourhood. The enemy, thus considerably straitened, had great difficulty in procuring forage for their horses, and could only use a meadow close to the town, which was commanded by a little village called Baggatrath. To secure and fortify this village appeared to the besiegers the best means of distressing the garrison; and a strong detachment, under General Purcel, received orders to intrench themselves there during the night. Though the detachment had not to advance more than a mile, yet by some unac-

countable mismanagement* the guides lost their way, and Purcell did not reach the ground until it was almost daybreak. When Ormond came to view the works, he found that they had been scarcely begun; and that the garrison, aware of the importance of the place, was about to make a vigorous attack on his detachment. Under these circumstances, the lord-lieutenant should either have withdrawn the troops, or brought up his whole army to cover his works. He did neither, but returned to his camp at Rathmines, and lay down to sleep! The marquis had not been in bed above an hour when he was awakened by volleys of shot; and before he could get a hundred yards from his tent, the remains of the detachment at Baggatrath were driven into his lines. A scene of indescribable confusion followed; Inchiquin's old soldiers threw down their arms, refusing to fight against their puritanical brethren; the greater part of the Irish cavalry galloped from the field without striking a blow; two regiments alone could be formed, and they, after an inefficient charge, were broken. The infantry, surprised and badly officered, made no attempt to resist; and the parliamentarians, to their own great astonishment, obtained a complete victory. All the artillery, tents, baggage-carriages, together with the military chest, fell into the hands of the enemy. About three thousand prisoners were taken, several of whom were murdered in cold blood, after laying down their arms. The greater part of those who

* There is some reason to believe that this calamity was caused by treachery. The native Irish and the priesthood, with some appearance of justice, dreaded Ormond as much as Cromwell; and feared, that if he became master of Dublin, he would treat them with the same injustice that the Irish had before received from the royalists, and were consequently unwilling to see him in a position where he would be independent of their assistance. When Riely, the titular primate, was tried four years after this by the republicans, for burning the castle of Wicklow, and murdering the garrison during a cessation of arms, he had the impudence and profligacy to plead, that the guides led the detachment astray by his directions; and for this piece of treachery his life was actually spared, notwithstanding the atrocity of his crimes.

had belonged to Inchiquin's army entered into the service of the parliament.

The blame of this calamity was thrown on the marquis by the confederates, and by him again on the Irish. It is obvious that both were guilty of what must at least be called great errors. The delay in fortifying Baggatrath was the first cause of the evil; and that certainly must be attributed to the negligence or treachery of some Irish leaders. But what are we to say of the general, who went to sleep at the very moment that he saw the enemy preparing to attack his lines?

The marquis, wearied out by the delays and subterfuges of the confederates, applied again to O'Neill, who was as anxious as himself to put an end to the destructive dissensions between the Irish and the Lords of the Pale. But while the negotiations yet lingered, news arrived that Cromwell had landed in Dublin with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and a vast supply of all the munitions of war. It was at first intended that Ireton should have proceeded with a part of this force to Munster; but the wind being unfavourable, the whole fleet was forced to come into Dublin; and Cromwell soon saw that it would be inexpedient to divide his army.

The historians of Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic, have shown a wondrous unanimity in vituperating the character of Cromwell and his followers. At this very hour the heaviest execration which an Irish peasant can pronounce is, "The curse of Cromwell be upon you!" Every mouldering castle, every prostrate altar, and every desolate place of worship, is supposed to have been ruined by the protector, even in places which he never visited; and on his memory is thrown the infamy of all the crimes which the royalists and puritans had committed before he had even dreamed of coming to the country. This is partly owing to the artifices

of those who wished to persuade the Irish, in a subsequent generation, to take up arms in defence of the House of Stuart; and still more to the conduct of his soldiers and their descendants, who so long swayed the destinies of Ireland. Some account of the materials which composed the invading army is necessary for understanding the subsequent history of the island, and even its present political condition.

Cromwell, some time before his departure for Ireland, had begun to form those ambitious projects which he afterward carried into execution. It was easy to discover that the wild and visionary fanatics, who had been hitherto his most strenuous supporters, would be found his fiercest antagonists, when they discovered that their favourite schemes of government would not be realized. The levellers, as these fanatics were called from their opposition to every rational form of government, were intent on establishing a species of theocracy, which they denominated "the dominion of the Lord and his saints." They believed themselves the chosen of heaven; and not a few laid claim to supernatural powers. In some of the pamphlets and sermons published at the period of their highest excitement, we find them seriously proposing to make the constitution of the Jews, previous to the election of Saul, the model after which the new government of England should be formed. Such schemes would now be received with laughter as general and as unextinguishable as that of Homer's gods; but at the time of which we write, they were seriously adopted by men who in every other respect displayed consummate wisdom and ability. The expedition to Ireland afforded Cromwell an opportunity of removing these bands of gloomy enthusiasts; and the troops destined for the invasion consisted of the most violent and fanatical part of the English army. When the battalions were assembled at Bristol, the object of the selection that had been made could no longer be

concealed; just indignation filled the breasts of the toilworn soldiers, and they unanimously refused to embark. The influence of Cromwell was necessary to quell this dangerous mutiny; he came suddenly among them, and all their complaints were hushed to silence. At the same time their preachers laboured strenuously to work upon their spiritual pride. They were compared to the Israelites proceeding to extirpate the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan; and described as the chosen instruments by which Heaven was to overthrow the empire of Babylon, and establish in its stead the kingdom of the New Jerusalem. Arguments addressed to superstition or enthusiasm have rarely failed. The levellers embarked with an ardent zeal that contrasted strangely with their former reluctance; though there were, at times, some misgivings that they were to be offered up as a holocaust, before the purification of Ireland from the abominations of popery could be completely effected.

The puritanical garrison of Dublin received with joy men whose pious zeal far exceeded their own; and, as enthusiasm is infectious, soon learned to imitate their extravagances. The most remarkable feature in the characters of these fanatics was a furious hatred of popery—a religion which they only knew by name, but which they firmly believed to be an abomination in the sight of heaven; which, if permitted to exist, would bring down vengeance on the land. Their pious rage was principally directed against the Cross, which they unhesitatingly stigmatized as the "mark of the beast;" and with strange inconsistency, laboured to destroy every symbol of that from which alone they professed to expect salvation.* Memorials of this extraordinary state of

* A whimsical instance of similar feelings in the descendants of the Cromwellians was exhibited some few years ago in the south of Ireland. The communion-table in the church of Youghal stands in a recess projecting beyond the walls of the church. It was resolved to ornament the sides of the recess with stucco, and with tablets containing the

things may still be found in the descendants of these adventurers. The misapplication of Jewish history to the circumstances of Christian communities, and a perverted ingenuity in interpreting the Apocalypse, still characterize the successors of Cromwell's puritans.*

It is a strange instance of the vicissitudes of fortune, that the soldiers sent into Ireland as victims eventually obtained wealth and estates, while their brethren, retained in England by special favour, sunk after the Restoration into poverty and contempt. The levellers established their dominion over the fairest parts of Ireland, and wrested from the descendants of the Anglo-Normans the broad lands which their ancestors had acquired under the Plantagenets. Few

creed, the commandments, &c. Unfortunately, the artist employed to execute the work introduced two crosses as appropriate ornaments in the *bassi relievi* arches. Had the pope come in person to celebrate high mass in the church, greater indignation could not have been displayed by the pious Protestants of Youghal. They averred that the image of Baal, had been erected in the sanctuary, and threatened a thousand nameless desecrations unless the obnoxious emblem was removed. After a brief struggle between common sense and bigotry, the crosses, which really looked very pretty, were effaced, and in their place two unmeaning lumps of plaster erected, with the words "Holy Bible" beneath —an announcement as necessary as "This is a horse" and "This is a tree" in the infancy of painting.

There were a few who defended the crosses, and they were at once set down as Papists. Some others laughed at the entire proceeding, and were of course stigmatized as infidels.

* The following hymn, in which Babylon typifies the church of Rome, is frequently sung in the public worship of some sectarians. I have been unable to discover the date or the author of the sublime production.

"In Gabriel's hand a mighty stone,
Stands a fair type of Babylon;
'Prophets rejoice, and all ye saints,
God shall avenge your long complaints.'

"He said, and dreadful as he stood,
He plunged the millstone in the flood;
'Thus terribly shall Babel fall,
And never more be found at all!'"

The author assures his readers, that he has very frequently heard this precious piece of nonsense sung as a hymn in several dissenting chapels in Ireland.

of the estates acquired by the followers of Strongbow and Henry II. were preserved to their posterity; but the great majority of the wealthy and noble families now in Ireland were founded by those veterans whom Cromwell led into the country.

The charge of sanguinary cruelty brought against the Cromwellian army, is not true to the great extent which has been charged. Though there were in the army several officers as cruel as the bloodthirsty Sankey, who seemed to revel in slaughter, there were others who possessed more humane feelings, and laboured to restrain such barbarous excesses as breaches of quarter and murders in cold blood. It may also serve, in some measure, to excuse the Cromwellians, that they firmly believed that the civil war was actually a contest for establishing popery in Ireland, and massacring all the Protestants and all the English. They consequently looked upon all papists as men beyond the pale of the law of nations, and not entitled to the protection afforded by the usages of civilized warfare. Sankey indeed openly avowed, that "no faith ought to be kept with papists;" and was with difficulty prevented by Ireton from acting on this detestable maxim. These feelings were kept alive in succeeding years by traditionary songs, in which the history of the crimes committed by the papists were detailed with as little regard to truth as poetry, but which, in an age not yet quite gone by, were honoured with more reverence than could be afforded to the strains of Milton and Shakspeare.*

* Two brief specimens of these will be sufficient, as a collection of the Irish Jacobite Relics is about to be published by a gentleman who has already done much to preserve the traditionary literature of his country. One commences with the following delectable stanza.

"A curse upon the papishes!
Because they did conspire,
To blow up king and parliament
With gun and gunpowdire."

The opinions of the Cromwellians respecting the connexion between Ireland and England, though sufficiently strange and absurd, were such as were acted upon by the most enlightened statesmen during the early part of the last century. They believed that the PEOPLE of England had absolute right and authority over Ireland; and consequently, that any resistance to whatever government had been established in Britain, was an act of rebellion. The Irish were now in arms for their king against the parliament; but by this curious argument it was established, that loyalty to the sovereign was identical with treason. By a similar process of reasoning, the forfeiture of the estates of those who supported their rightful monarch, James II., against the Prince of Orange, was justified. But the Irish parliament of that day improved on the principle, and decreed several confiscations for acts of what they called treason, committed on the very day that William landed in Torbay.

The rhymes of another are scarcely less whimsical.

"In the reign of King Charles the First,
Look back to the year forty one,
When thousands that lie in the dust,
Were murdered by the clan."

The seventeenth century produced one loyal stave which may match with the preceding.

"Row de dow dow,
The French are a-coming:
Lock up your doors,
And bury your money."

CHAPTER II.

The Cromwellian War.

CROMWELL having waited some time in Dublin, to refresh his army, and to settle the civil and military government, then determined to besiege Drogheda, then called Tredagh, and advanced against the place at the head of ten thousand men. The town was garrisoned by Sir A. Aston, with two thousand picked soldiers and a regiment of horse, besides several volunteers. On coming before the town, Cromwell sent a formal summons to the governor, which was peremptorily rejected, and a blockade accordingly commenced. The besiegers were delayed some time by the want of artillery; but when the cannon arrived from Dublin, they opened a tremendous fire from their batteries, which the walls of Drogheda were unable to resist. A practicable breach was soon effected, but the attempt at storming was twice repulsed with great slaughter. Cromwell rallied his men to a third effort, and placed himself at their head. The resistance was vigorous; but the Irish Colonel Wall being killed at the head of his regiment, his soldiers were so dismayed that they threw down their arms on the promise of quarter, and the parliamentarians forced their way into the town. Though quarter had been promised by his officers, Cromwell refused to ratify the agreement, and ordered the garrison to be put to the sword. The inhuman massacre was continued during the two following days. Thirty of the brave defenders of Drogheda alone survived; and these, by a dubious mercy, were sold as slaves to the plantations.

The excuse for this atrocious barbarity, was the necessity of striking immediate terror into the Irish, in order to prevent them from future opposition. It failed, as such detestable policy always must; and had Owen O'Neill lived, the effect would have been the direct contrary.

Wearied out by the follies and jealousies of the confederates, who seemed determined to do nothing for their own preservation, and to prevent all others from effecting it as far as they could, Ormond hastened to conclude his treaty with O'Neill; and that leader put his army in motion to join the royalists. He ordered the general who commanded his advanced guard to avoid an engagement when there was not an absolute certainty of success, and to trust to the passes and the season, which would defeat Cromwell without trouble or risk. But, while the Ulster general was advancing with his main body to the south, he was attacked by a defluxion of the knees, a disease said to have been occasioned by a pair of poisoned boots prepared for him by one Plunket, an agent of the confederates. Notwithstanding his sickness, O'Neill would not allow the march of the army to be retarded, and was conveyed in a litter at the head of his men. The motion, however, aggravated the disease, and he died at Clough Outer Castle. With O'Neill perished the last hope of the Irish cause, for he alone would have been a fit match for Cromwell. His death, at such a crisis, is probably the principal ground for the suspicion of poison. It was an event decisive of the fate of the kingdom. Few leaders, in ancient or modern times, merit the epithet of hero better than Owen O'Neill. He left rank, station, and command abroad, to assist his countrymen in their struggle for their rights and properties. He was successful in all his enterprises; and he never sullied his laurels by treachery, cruelty, or inhumanity. His only error was that he did not treat the

council of Kilkenny as Cromwell afterward did the British parliament, by dispersing at the point of the bayonet an imbecile assembly, whose folly and stubbornness was manifestly accelerating the ruin of the country. But O'Neill was too nobly minded to effect even a good purpose by criminal means; and his virtues served to injure the cause which he supported, since a reverence for good faith kept him from taking the only measures which would ensure its success.

Cromwell had in the mean time received accurate information of the dissensions which distracted the counsels of the confederates, and hastened to reap the advantages of their folly. He sent Venables into the north to reduce the Ulster Scots, or rather, to support that portion of them which was inclined to favour his designs. He himself, with the main body of the army, advanced along the sea-coast, through the county of Wicklow, attended by the fleet to supply his men with provisions. Before leaving Dublin, he issued two proclamations, which were of greater value than double the number of victories. One forbade his soldiers, under pain of death, to offer any injury to the peaceable inhabitants; the other strictly enjoined that payment should be made for all provisions supplied by the peasants. No previous invader had thought fit to conciliate the peasantry by promising justice and protection. The royalist army, especially that portion commanded by Inchiquin, had treated the country people with studied injury and insult. Even the confederates, proud of their Norman descent, seized the property of the tillers of the soil without scruple. From this time forward, the opinion began to gain ground that Cromwell was more favourably disposed towards the native Irish than the royalists under Ormond and Inchiquin, or the descendants of the original invaders who sat in the council of Kilkenny. As far as Cromwell was personally concerned, this belief seems

not to have been groundless; but even he was not sufficiently powerful to check the intolerant hatred of popery, which, like a popular phrensy, had seized on the people of England; and he continued to act unjustly, when an attempt to do justice would have accomplished no good purpose, and might probably have caused his own destruction.

The Marquis of Ormond was in the meantime doomed to feel the evil effects of that want of confidence which his own insincerity had occasioned. The commissioners of trust watched his every motion with galling jealousy. The cities, suspicious of his designs, denied admittance to his garrisons, though the enemy had advanced almost to their walls; and he had not the power of removing from the most important garrisons those governors whose treachery or incapacity was all but proved. Cromwell, too, like Philip of Macedon, had learned the art of "fighting with silver spears," and found too many ready to sacrifice their honour and their country for a paltry bribe. But it is ever thus in a nation divided by parties; no man feels that universal love for *all* his countrymen which forms the very essence of patriotism; and many even without a bribe, will be found ready to inflict remediless evils on their country and themselves, for the mere purpose of spiting their political antagonists. There are few countries which cannot furnish examples of this criminal folly, but none more abundantly than Ireland.

In the beginning of October, Cromwell, with nine thousand men, sat down before Wexford: he would not at such a season have ventured to besiege so important a place, if he had not had some reason to depend on those within the town, who were disaffected to Ormond and the confederates. In fact, the partisans of the nuncio through the kingdom, were so filled with hatred against the council of Kilkenny, that they were determined to make Cromwell the instrument of their revenge, even though such conduct

necessarily involved their own destruction. The town was invested on both sides before the inhabitants could be persuaded to receive a royalist garrison.

Ormond succeeded in supplying Wexford with a sufficient number of troops for its defence, and intrusted the command of the town to Sir E. Butler, an officer of great merit; but, unfortunately, he was too much under the control of the commissioners of trust to displace Strafford, the governor of the castle, though he had strong reason to suspect his fidelity. Scarcely had Cromwell opened his batteries on a remote quarter of the town, when Strafford betrayed the castle to the besiegers; and as there was no time to cut off the communication, the capture of the town was the necessary consequence. The horrors of Drogheda were renewed at Wexford. Cromwell forbade his soldiers to give quarter—an inhumanity the more remarkable, as his own men had suffered but little loss. The governor and some others attempted to escape by swimming their horses over the Slaney. A few succeeded; the rest, among whom was Sir E. Butler, were drowned. The loss of Wexford was a severe shock to Ormond; it was totally unexpected, and deranged all his plans. He had calculated that such a siege would have delayed Cromwell's army for several weeks, and that in the mean time, he could procure such reinforcements from Ulster and Munster, as would make him more than a match for the parliamentary army, enfeebled by fatigue, and the diseases incident to the season. Nor was this the only mortification he was doomed to experience. He learned at the same time that Coote and Venables had reduced the greater part of eastern Ulster; and that in the south a conspiracy had been detected for betraying Youghal to the parliamentarians.

The disaffection in the southern towns was principally owing to the contrivances of Lord Broghill, the fifth son of the great Earl of Cork, who inherited all

his father's abilities, but a very small share of his integrity and honourable principle. He was born at his father's seat, the college of Youghal, and educated in the strict principles of the puritans—a colony of whom, from Bristol, had been planted in the town by his father. At the commencement of the war with the confederates, he was placed at the head of the troops which his father had raised among his own tenantry; and displayed equal ability and valour in the field. After the peace of 1646, he withdrew himself from Irish affairs, being indignant at the legal toleration of popery, which he believed to be both dangerous and sinful. He continued however to correspond with Ormond, whose real sentiments accorded with his own; and at his instigation undertook a journey to Holland, in order to persuade King Charles to come in person to Ireland. It was necessary for him to pass through London in his way; but he had not been long in that city, when he was astonished by a personal visit from Cromwell, then preparing for his Irish expedition. Cromwell informed his lordship that all his plans had been betrayed to the council of state, and orders issued for his arrest; but that he, out of respect for his lordship's character, had interfered, and obtained permission to gain him over if possible to the side of the parliament. Little persuasion was necessary; Broghill consented to serve under Cromwell against his former associates; and on his arrival in Ireland, easily raised a strong force among the retainers of his family. Connected from his earliest infancy with the puritans in Munster, he speedily opened a communication with the officers of the different garrisons in the south; and they were now ready to embrace the first opportunity of breaking off, what they deemed their unholy alliance, with the confederate Catholics.

So alarmed were the commissioners of trust by the loss of Wexford, that they determined to aban-

don Kilkenny, and were with difficulty dissuaded from such a scandalous flight by Ormond. The marquis behaved in this emergency with greater promptitude and ability than he had yet displayed; and he was zealously seconded by Lord Castlehaven, the only one of the confederate Catholics that reposed confidence in the lord-lieutenant. He strengthened the garrison of Duncannon and Ross, removing from the former Roche the governor, a creature of the commissioners, and intrusting the latter to Lord Taafe, whose abilities he overrated. The commissioners of trust took fire at these attempts of the marquis to shake off their authority, and insisted that Roche should be restored, though he candidly declared himself inadequate to the situation. But the marquis found means to elude the unreasonble demand; and Wogan, whom he had appointed, was permitted to continue. Soon after several detachments from O'Neill's army joined the confederate forces; but a great part of the main body dispersed after the death of their gallant leader, and never afterward reassembled.

Cromwell undertook the siege of Ross in person, while a detachment commanded by his son-in-law Ireton attacked Duncannon. Ross was surrendered after the cannon had played twenty-four hours against its walls, through the cowardice or incapacity of Lord Taafe. The garrison obtained honourable terms, being permitted to retire with their arms and baggage to Kilkenny. The royalists soon after received a severe check from the treachery of some of their leaders. Information was received of a convoy from Dublin which might easily be intercepted; and Inchiquin was intrusted with the command of a detachment for the purpose. But the plan was betrayed as soon as formed to the parliamentarians, and Inchiquin's attack repulsed with loss.

Some compensation for these losses was derived from the success of the confederates at Duncannon.

The fort was invested only on the land side; and Lord Castlehaven ventured to cross the estuary on which it stands in an open boat, to consult with the governor. His lordship having viewed the situation of the besiegers, strenuously recommended a sally, and offered to send over eighty horses to mount the picked men of the garrison for the purpose. Wogan approved of the proposal, but doubted the practicability of sending the horses, as the distance to the county of Waterford was at least three miles, and several parliamentary ships lay in the bay. Castlehaven, however, resolved to make the attempt, and returned to his quarters for the purpose. Luckily the tide became favourable exactly at sunset, and the horses were ferried over in safety without being discovered. At daybreak Wogan made a sally. Ireton's army knowing that there had been no cavalry in the fort, believed that they were attacked by some new forces, and fled in such confusion, that part of their artillery was left behind.

After the capture of Ross, Cromwell began to lay a bridge of boats over the Barrow, in order to effect a passage into the county of Kilkenny; but when the work was nearly completed, he suddenly changed his mind, and determined to besiege Waterford. The inhabitants of this city had been the most devoted partisans of the nuncio, and were consequently bitterly opposed to the lord-lieutenant and the council of Kilkenny. Even the approach of Cromwell was insufficient to cure them of their insane jealousies; for they obstinately refused to admit a garrison, and treated Lord Castlehaven, who had been appointed governor by Ormond, with such disrespect that he was compelled to quit the town. The sight of Cromwell's army however alarmed them so much, that they solicited Ormond to send the garrison which they had before rejected, and he immediately led his army to their relief. On the march it was proposed by some of the leaders to attack Carrick-on-Suir,

which had been seized by one of Cromwell's detachments, in order to secure the communication of the advancing army with its resources. Ormond opposed this as a useless delay; but his opinion was overruled by the council of war, and a detachment under Inchiquin was ordered to attack the place. Ormond arrived before Waterford about eight in the evening; and having sent for the mayor and aldermen, informed them that he had brought General Ferral to their assistance with fifteen hundred men. As Ferral had served under O'Neill, and was consequently one of the nuncio's party, he was received without any opposition; and the marquis having accomplished his design, set out on his return that very night. In the morning he approached Carrick, which he expected to have found in the possession of his friends; but on his road he was met by Colonel Power, who informed him that Inchiquin had given up the enterprise for want of implements to break the walls—a resolution the more unfortunate, as we learn from Ludlow's Memoirs that the place was garrisoned only by a few dragoons armed with swords and pistols.

The lord lieutenant concentrated his forces at Clonmel, and determined to raise the siege of Waterford, but could not prevail upon the commissioners of trust to provide provisions for the army. He marched therefore with only a part of the army to Waterford by night, and reached a hill within sight of Cromwell's camp early on the following morning. From thence he saw the parliamentary army in full retreat, and in such confusion, that an attack upon their rear must have been successful. But to effect this it was necessary that his troops should pass through the city; and the corporation whose insolence had returned with the prospect of security, refused him admission, until the golden opportunity was irretrievably lost.

On the return of the marquis to Clonmel, he had

the mortification to witness the discovery of an intrigue, the most disgraceful and injurious that can be imagined. Though the nuncio had departed, the leaders of the Roman Catholic clergy had not resigned all hopes of establishing a hierocracy in Ireland; and believing that Ormond was the greatest impediment to this consummation, they laboured secretly, but strenuously, to counteract his measures. From the number of these ecclesiastical agitators, the titular bishop of Clogher must be excepted. Though originally the most violent supporter of the nuncio, he had formed, on closer acquaintance, such a high opinion of Ormond's talents, and was so firmly persuaded that his presence was necessary to the salvation of the country, that he directed all his energies to the re-establishment of the lord-lieutenant's authority. We have already mentioned some of the evils that had arisen from Lord Antrim's desire of obtaining the government. Disappointed in his hopes of obtaining the appointment from the king, he now intrigued with every party, and shunned no act of treachery or meanness that was likely to assist him in effecting his object. He opened a communication with Cromwell by means of his confessor, and encouraged him to make the successful attempt on Wexford; he instigated the citizens of Waterford to refuse a garrison, declaring that the soldiers were resolved to betray the city; and he laboured to persuade the violent Catholic party, already well disposed to such a belief, that Inchiquin was secretly in league with the parliament, and had entered into a treaty for the ruin of the confederates. He produced a forged instrument, purporting to be articles of agreement between Inchiquin and Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin, and letters from Jones directed to Inchiquin, which he pretended to have intercepted. After having done all the mischief in his power at Waterford, Antrim determined to excite similar sedition at Limerick; but on his

way he was met by Inchiquin at Clonmel, who stopped him and demanded satisfaction for his infamous calumnies. Courage formed no part of Antrim's redeeming qualities; he refused to fight, but made the only other reparation in his power, by confessing the forgery in presence of the lord-lieutenant and the commissioners of trust. Ormond was too timid to bring the infamous wretch to trial; for he had too much reason to believe that his punishment would be attributed to political hostility; and thus Antrim remained at liberty to contrive fresh machinations. Inchiquin transmitted a copy of Antrim's confession to Jones, with a letter demanding an explanation of his conduct; but Jones about this time died of the plague, and so the matter ended.

After raising the siege of Waterford, Cromwell found his forces in a very dangerous situation: they were in the midst of a hostile and difficult country, destitute of quarters during an inclement season, unable to advance, and exposed to be attacked at great disadvantage if they attempted to retreat. But from all these difficulties he was at once relieved by the sudden revolt of the puritans in the south-east of Munster. Taking advantage of Inchiquin's absence, Lord Broghill proceeded towards the southern garrisons with a small detachment, and met no opposition. Youghal, Kinsale, Bandon, and even Cork, opened their gates. Dungarvan was taken after a slight resistance; and thus at the moment of utmost need, Cromwell obtained excellent winter-quarters, and the means of direct communication with England.

This revolt increased the jealousy which subsisted between the different parties in the Irish army; the confederates suspected all the royalist protestants of favouring Cromwell, and preferring the indulgence of religious intolerance to the preservation of their loyalty; the native Irish extended their suspicions to all of English descent, and deemed themselves the

objects of incurable hatred to all the Anglo-Irish confederates, whether Protestant or Catholic. The towns were confirmed in their obstinate resolution not to receive garrisons. Kilkenny, from old associations indeed, submitted to obey Ormond; and Clonmel was prevailed upon to admit Hugh O'Neill with a body of Ulster men; but Waterford continued to refuse obedience, and would not even permit soldiers to pass through the city. As it had now become a frontier garrison, Ormond was anxious to prevail on the civic authorities to change their mad resolutions, and went in person with his army to try the effect of remonstrance. On his arrival he found General Ferral preparing to make an attack on the Fort of Passage, which Cromwell had taken and garrisoned while besieging the city. Ormond could only obtain admittance for himself and his immediate retinue. He proceeded to an eminence whence he could command a view of Ferral's operations; and he had not been there long when he saw a body of horse marching towards the fort, in such good order that he could not doubt but that Ferral's designs had been discovered, and his regiment in danger of destruction. Ormond immediately sent for the mayor, pointed out to him the danger to which the governor was exposed, and entreated permission to lead some regiments through the town to his assistance. It will scarcely be credited, but it is not the less true, that the civic authorities, though they distinctly saw the danger to which so large a portion of the garrison was exposed, peremptorily refused a passage to a force sufficient to avert the calamity! Ormond having supplicated in vain, advanced with a few of his retainers and some personal friends, to cover Ferral's retreat. He had not advanced more than a few miles, when he met the detachment flying in confusion. He drew up his followers, about fifty in number, on the side of a hill, so judiciously, that the enemy believing that a con-

siderable reinforcement had arrived, gave over the pursuit. The Fort of Passage was a place of too much importance to be neglected. It commanded the harbour of Waterford, and enabled the parliamentarians to intercept the commerce of the city. Ormond therefore solicited permission to quarter his forces in huts outside the wall, and offered in return to reduce the fort. But the citizens replied that they would rather endure all the inconveniences resulting from its remaining in possession of the enemy, than incur the hazard of starvation, by providing provisions for the royal army. Ormond, unable to overcome their obstinacy, distributed his soldiers into winter-quarters, and never was able to assemble them again.

The winter was spent by the parliamentarians in active preparations for the ensuing campaign, and by the Irish in idle disputations. Antrim made an effort to obtain from the synod of the Irish clergy a declaration against the Marquis of Ormond's continuance in the government, and would have succeeded but for the exertions of the Bishop of Clogher. He also failed in an effort to obtain from the king the chief government of Ireland, though his pretensions were supported by Prince Rupert. Charles, with more honour than he usually exhibited, declared that he would rather lose the kingdom than offer an insult to the Marquis of Ormond. But these intrigues so weakened the authority of the lord-lieutenant, that he began to despair. He wrote to the king, stating the circumstances of his situation, and entreating the royal permission to retire, if he should find himself still prevented from doing any thing effectual for the royal cause.

CHAPTER III.

The Cromwellian War concluded.

A. D. 1650.—In the month of January, Cromwell opened his second campaign by advancing against Kilkenny, which Colonel Tickle had promised to betray into his hands. Before his arrival, however, the plot was discovered, and the traitor deservedly put to death. Cromwell consequently was forced to retire; but he employed his soldiers no less profitably, in reducing several important castles and towns in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. Ormond now saw that his only hope of raising an army rested on the provinces of Connaught and Ulster; for such a spirit of fear had seized on the gentry in Leinster, that there was not a single castle in which either the governor or his wife was not anxious to make terms with the parliamentary general. Having intrusted the government of Leinster to Lord Castlehaven, Ormond proceeded into Connaught, to consult with the Marquis of Clanricarde and the Catholic bishops. Castlehaven vigorously exerted himself for the defence of the province, but was badly supported by the confederates. Several opportunities were afforded him of obtaining decisive advantages over Cromwell's detachments, but he could not avail himself of them for want of troops, the Lords of the Pale having failed to send their promised contingents. He succeeded, however, in taking Athy, which Cromwell had fortified as a depôt, by storm, and sent the prisoners to the parliamentary camp, requesting that his men should be treated with like civility on a similar occasion. But Cromwell cared little about civility; for having

taken Callan and Gowran a few days after, he ordered the officers to be shot.

The greater part of the county of Tipperary, including the towns of Cashel and Fethard,* with the castle of Cahir,† yielded to Cromwell without opposition.

Encouraged by these successes, Cromwell laid

* Ludlow, whose account of all the transactions in Ireland before he came to the country is singularly inaccurate, says, that the corporation of Fethard sent deputies to surrender the town before Cromwell thought of approaching it. The present inhabitants of the town believe that it was not taken until after an obstinate siege. Both opinions are wrong, as will be seen by the following documents.

Cromwell, after taking Cashel, marched to Fethard, and, arriving before the town late in the evening, sent a trumpet to summon the governor. He received the following reply:—

"For Oliver Cromwell, General of the Parliament forces now in Ireland.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

"I have received your letter about nine of the clock this night, which hour I conceive to be unseasonable for me to treat with you; yet, if your lordship pleases to send sufficient hostages in for such as I will employ to treat with you, I will be ready to entrust some in that business. Having no more at present, I remain,

"Your honour's friend and servant,

"PIERCE BUTLER.

"From the garrison of Fethard,

"Feb. 2, 1649-50, half an hour after nine of the clock at night."

The articles of surrender were signed the following morning at six o'clock, and the parliamentary garrison admitted before eight. The articles secure the inhabitants protection in person and property, and permit the garrison to retire with all the honours of war, and with their horses, arms, and baggage.

† Cahir was held by Captain Matthews, who had married the dowager-baroness; and, from the strength of its position, a fierce resistance was expected. Cromwell, however, sent Matthews what he called "a thundering summons," which produced an instantaneous effect. The following is a copy:—

"To Captain Matthews, commanding the Castle of Cahir.

"SIR,

"Having brought the army and cannon before this place, according to my usual manner in summoning places, I thought fit to offer you terms honourable for soldiers, that you may march away with your baggage, arms, and colours, free from injury or violence; but if I be, notwithstanding, necessitated to bend my cannon upon you, you must

siege to Kilkenny, the garrison of which was greatly weakened by the plague. The governor, Sir Walter Butler, made a gallant defence; and, after a breach had been made, twice repulsed the attempt of the enemy to storm the town. Cromwell was about to retire, when he received a message from the civic authorities, assuring him that they were anxious for a surrender. A third assault was made, and defeated; but Ireton coming up with fresh forces, and Castlehaven having declared by letter that he could not afford assistance, the governor made a signal for a parley, which led to a cessation of arms. Cromwell granted the garrison the most honourable conditions, and, as they marched out, complimented the officers and soldiers highly on their gallant defence; he also declared that, but for the treachery of the civic authorities, he would have raised the siege.

From Kilkenny, Cromwell marched against Clonmel, which was garrisoned by Hugh O'Neill, a commander worthy of his illustrious name, and fifteen hundred of the Ulster soldiery. His summons having been rejected with scorn, he opened his trenches early in April, and soon made a practicable breach. The first attempt to storm was defeated with so much slaughter, that the infantry refused to advance a second time, and Cromwell was forced to appeal to the cavalry. Lieutenant Henry Langley and several other officers of horse gallantly volunteered; the private troopers followed the example of their officers, and a second storming party was formed

expect what is usual in such cases. To avoid blood, this is offered you by

Your servant,
"O. CROMWELL.

"For the Governor of Cahir Castle,
"Feb. 24, 1649-50."

Matthews stipulated for the security of his wife's jointure and his own private property, in addition to the other usual terms; and, his demands being granted, surrendered within an hour after receiving the summons.

under the command of Colonel Culin. The second assault was so fierce, that the Irish were driven from the breach; but O'Neill had by this time erected a new wall at the head of the street, which the breach faced, and lined the adjacent houses with musketry. The assailants were unable to overcome this new obstacle. Culin and several others fell. Langley's left hand was cut off by a blow of a scythe; and the greater part of the detachment was either killed or wounded. In these two assaults Cromwell lost more than two thousand of his best soldiers. He would not venture on a third; but changed the siege into a blockade, and determined to wait the slow effects of famine. O'Neill soon began to feel the want of ammunition and provision, of which his supply had been originally but scanty; and sent the most pressing entreaties to the Marquis of Ormond to hasten to his assistance.

Ormond was desirous to afford early relief to the gallant garrison of Clonmel, and directed Lord Castleconnel and the sheriff to raise the county of Limerick. The gentry of the county met, and agreed to raise three hundred horse and eleven hundred foot; but this was prevented by the commissioners of trust, who declared, that such a mode of proceeding was contrary to etiquette! Castleconnel appointed another day of meeting, and wrote to the commissioners for instructions; but they were content with their success in controlling the authority of the lord-lieutenant, and did not vouchsafe to send an answer. The gentlemen of Limerick, not knowing how to act, separated, and Clonmel was thus abandoned to its fate.

Ormond next applied to Lord Roche, who commanded in the western part of the county of Cork; and that nobleman, being aided by the titular Bishop of Ross, soon raised a considerable force, so far as regards numbers; but badly armed, and wholly without discipline. Against these Cromwell detached

Lord Broghill, with a select body of troops, who easily routed the raw levies. Lord Roche and the greater part of his forces escaped through the mountains and morasses; but the bishop remained a prisoner. There was a fort near the field of battle, which Broghill was anxious to secure; and he offered the prelate his life if he would prevail upon the garrison to surrender; but threatened instant execution if he refused compliance. The bishop having pledged his word to return, went to the fort, and assembling the soldiers, earnestly conjured them to be faithful to their king, their country, and their God;—he then returned to Broghill, and was immediately hanged. This instance of pure fidelity and devoted heroism is described as the extreme of insolence and obstinacy, by those who could discover no merit in an Irishman and a papist.

O'Neill having defended Clonmel until his last charge of powder was exhausted, withdrew his men from the town during the night, without being discovered; and Cromwell, not aware of the escape of the garrison, granted the inhabitants very favourable conditions. The articles were signed on the 18th of May; and Cromwell immediately afterward proceeded to Youghal, and embarked for England, where his presence was eagerly desired, in consequence of the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland.

The royal cause in Ireland soon became hopeless. There was no necessity for Ireton, who succeeded Cromwell, to make any exertion, for the factions were fast destroying each other. Castlehaven, when on the point of gaining a decisive victory in Connaught, saw his hopes frustrated and his safety endangered by the cowardice or treachery of Captain Fox, who not only ran away with his own troop, but persuaded others to follow his example. His lordship, indeed, executed the miserable wretch; but the loss that he had occasioned was irreparable. In the north, the Bishop of Clogher being chosen

general of the Ulster army, had the temerity to attack Sir Charles Coote, though superior in number, and very advantageously posted. He was, of course, defeated, his forces routed with great slaughter, and he himself taken prisoner. It need scarcely be added that he was hanged by the conquerors; for the Cromwellians never spared an ecclesiastic. In Leinster, the principle castles had been surrendered, and the governors of the few remaining were about to make terms with the puritans. Castlehaven proposed that the bishop should denounce a sentence of excommunication against all those who betrayed their country, by entering into compositions with the enemy; but the prelates reserved excommunications for a different purpose.

Ormond now prepared to quit the kingdom, and informed the catholic synod of his intentions. The commissioners of trust, aware of the confusion which his departure would occasion, entreated him to change his resolution, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to re-establish his authority. The marquis was persuaded to continue for some time longer; but found the commissioners unable, and not very willing, to perform their engagements. The city of Limerick was now become the centre of the country still possessed by the Irish; for on the eastern side of the kingdom, Waterford alone held out against the parliament. The marquis was consequently anxious to make Limerick the seat of government, and to ensure its safety by a sufficient garrison. But the civic authorities and the citizens absolutely refused obedience to his commands, and even meditated to seize his person. By the interference of the commissioners of trust, the mayor and aldermen were induced to promise a more submissive behaviour; but when the lord-lieutenant approached the city, he learned that a tumultuous mob, headed by a friar named Wolfe, had seized on the keys of the gates, and called in Colonel O'Brien, with

some irregular troops, to their assistance. In the midst of these tumults, Ireton approached so near as to cause some alarm; and the citizens requested that Hugh O'Neill should be appointed their governor. The marquis desired to employ O'Neill in a much more important business;—he designed to send him into Ulster, to rally the remnant of the Bishop of Clogher's army, and to raise new recruits in a province that had been always devoted to his family. But the danger threatening Limerick appeared so imminent, that the marquis complied with the request of the citizens, and appointed O'Neill to the command.

The friars and monks had, from the very commencement, been devoted to the cause of the nuncio; and they preached everywhere, that the calamities which afflicted the kingdom arose from the neglect of his advice, and the little regard shown to the interests of their holy religion. One of these incendiaries had even the audacity to seize the colours of a regiment that was marching by orders of the general, and to denounce damnation against all who proceeded further. The officers remonstrated indignantly, but the superstitious soldiers threw down their arms and dispersed. The regular clergy by no means joined in these excesses, but they found on this, as on other occasions, that the mob is more easily led by the fanatics of the several monastic orders, than by their own parochial ministers.

The bishops believed that Ormond was secretly negotiating with Cromwell; and it must be confessed that they had some grounds for the suspicion. He had terminated his former administration by betraying Dublin to the parliamentarians for a stipulated price, and the agent whom he sent to negotiate with Cromwell during the siege of Clonmel had, on his return, brought back passes for the lord-lieutenant and Inchiquin. Several of the prelates, also, had adopted the nuncio's design of

transferring the kingdom of Ireland to some Catholic prince; and deeming Ormond the greatest obstacle to its execution, successfully laboured to make him odious to the populace. A synod was held at Jamestown in the beginning of August, where, after long debates, the bishops resolved to send a deputation to Ormond, requiring "that he would speedily quit the kingdom, and leave his majesty's authority in the hands of some person faithful to the king, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." They also signed "a declaration against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the lord-lieutenant," and "a solemn excommunication" against all who should adhere to him, by giving him any subsidy, contribution, or intelligence, or by obeying his commands.

This alone was wanting to complete the utter ruin of the Irish cause. It was in vain that the commissioners of trust remonstrated, and declared the fatal consequences of this strange declaration. It was in vain that some of the prelates, alarmed by the approach of Coote and Ireton to Athlone, begged that the documents should be suppressed, at least for a time. They were published in Limerick and Galway, which had long since withdrawn their allegiance from the lord-lieutenant. In spite of the general resistance, they were proclaimed at the head of Clanricarde's forces, the only semblance of an army which the Irish still retained. The summer was wasted in long and tedious negotiations with the prelates; and it seems probable that the declaration would have been withdrawn, but for the intelligence which was received from Scotland. Before landing in that country, Charles II. had, with shameless perjury, sworn to observe "the solemn league and covenant." But his crime brought its own punishment; for he had no sooner arrived than he found himself a mere tool in the hands of the Presbyterian

faction. He was compelled to publish a declaration, denouncing the peace which Ormond had concluded with the Irish, acknowledging the sinfulness of forming any compact with papists, and revoking all commissions granted by the lord-lieutenant. The bishops now declared, that as the king had placed Ireland out of his protection, they had nothing to do but to return to their act of association.

While the royalists were thus engaged, Ireton was ranging over the entire kingdom at his pleasure. Waterford was surrendered by Preston, the governor; Duncannon fell almost without resistance; and the Castle of Carlow was captured after a brief struggle. Detachments from the English army partially blockaded Limerick, and seized the most important strongholds in the country. The Marquis of Clanricarde made an attempt to relieve Birr, but was defeated with great loss; and this action terminated the campaign. Three-fourths of the kingdom were now in possession of the parliamentarians, to their own great astonishment. They had won no victory, and yet they had conquered a nation. Such were the dire effects of the violence of party, and the turbulence of faction.

As a last resource, Ormond convoked a general assembly at Loughrea, in the middle of November. It was attended by the principal nobility, gentry, and clergy, the majority of whom were averse to the late destructive proceedings at Jamestown. But the influence of the factious prelates was too great to allow of a speedy decision. The marquis having waited for a counter declaration until December, at length embarked in a frigate provided for him by the Duke of York, and accompanied by Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and some others, sailed for France. Before the vessel had quite left the shore, a deputation arrived from the assembly at Loughrea, bearing a declaration which, though not perfectly satisfactory, gave some hopes of future improvement; and

Ormond, in consequence, transferred his power to the Marquis of Clanricarde.

Even now the Irish cause might have prevailed, if the factions could be persuaded to lay aside their violence. Clanricarde was a Catholic nobleman, deservedly popular; a devoted royalist, and a prudent statesman. But the bishops, having removed Ormond, began further to develope their scheme of a hierocracy, and proposed that the government should be administered without any reference to the royal authority. A very curious negotiation was commenced with the Duke of Lorraine, who had been persuaded by some unknown person that he might be able to acquire the kingdom of Ireland. He offered to advance a large sum of money, and to send plentiful supplies of the munitions of war, if he was acknowledged protector-royal, and placed in possession of some cautionary towns. Clanricarde at once rejected terms so derogatory to the king's interests, but was persuaded by the clergy to continue the negotiations. Finally, the duke was persuaded to advance twenty thousand pounds, on the promise of receiving Limerick and Galway as pledges; but before any further steps could be taken, these towns were in the hands of the puritans.

A. D. 1651.—Ireton made vigorous preparations for opening a decisive campaign; and the commissioners who had been sent over by the English parliament to administer the civil government took the most judicious measures to restore tranquillity in the districts already subdued. Before he led out his forces, Ireton, who respected Castlehaven's abilities, sent a trumpeter to his lordship, offering him a safe-conduct, and security in person and property, if he would submit to the parliament; but Castlehaven rejected any attempt to seduce him from his allegiance, though by this time he despaired of success. Ireton, having concentrated his forces at Cashel, advanced to the banks of the Shannon, opposite Kil-

laloe, where Castlehaven was posted to dispute his passage. The treachery of Colonel Fennel rendered all the precautious unavailing. He fled from Killaloe without firing a shot; and Ireton having thus obtained possession of the town, Castlehaven's position became untenable. In the mean time, Coote and Reynolds, having taken Athlone, advanced through the county of Galway to Athenry, and some English frigates sailed up the Shannon. Ireton, being now master of the river, laid siege to Limerick. The Marquis of Clanricarde sent to the citizens, offering to take the command of the city in person; but the corporate authorities refused him admission, evidencing to the very last moment the truth of the adage, that insanity precedes destruction. The siege was conducted with vigour, and the town defended with great spirit by Hugh O'Neill. A plague, however, wasted the garrison, and several of the factions already proposed a surrender. Ireton, by secret emissaries, proffered pardon to all but twenty-four, among whom were the Bishops of Emly and Limerick.* Great was the indignation of these prelates, when they found the effects of their artifices returning on their own heads. The multitude whom they had themselves taught to despair, resolved to purchase safety by giving up the required victims; and their threats of excommunication were no longer of any avail. Hugh O'Neill endeavoured to inspire his associates with nobler sentiments, and exhorted them to persevere in their defence; but Fennel and some others having seized the keys, opened two of the gates, drove away O'Neill's guard, and admitted Ireton's soldiers.

Ireton immediately ordered the traitor Fennel to be executed, though he pleaded his former treachery

* The Bishop of Limerick made his escape in the disguise of a common soldier, when the garrison marched out.

at Youghal, and his recent services at Killaloe, as recommendations to the favour of the parliamentary general. But though Ireton availed himself of the treason, he was not the less disposed to punish the traitor; and the wretched miscreant met the just reward of his crimes. With him were executed Fanning, who had opposed the proclamation of the peace in 1646; Friar Walsh, the most virulent antagonist of Ormond; and the Bishop of Emly,* who had been a servile tool of the nuncio. Had Ireton been satisfied with these victims, few in the present day would have blamed him for punishing those who had been traitors to both parties; but he also condemned several, whose only crime was, that they had done their duty to their king and country. The most conspicuous victim selected was the gallant Hugh O'Neill, whose brave defence of Clonmel should have recommended him to the esteem of every brave man. O'Neill defended himself as a man and a soldier. He said that he had left an honourable

* The following account of Jeffrey Baron's trial, if trial it can be called, is given by Ludlow in his Memoirs, and is an edifying example of republican justice and consistency.

"Jeffrey Baron, having the same question put to him as the rest (viz. what he had to say for himself), answered, that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for, which was the liberty and religion of his country. The deputy (Ireton) replied, that Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might with justice assert their right of conquest; that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reason; notwithstanding which, they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased by their money. That touching the point of religion, there was a wide difference also between us, we *only* contending to preserve our natural right therein, *without imposing our opinions upon other men*; whereas they would not be contented, unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their impositions, under pain of death. The council of war, looking upon what he had said to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the mayor also; and the sentence was executed accordingly." —*Ludlow*, i. 375.

The claim of the puritans to tolerant principles is not the least remarkable part of this curious tirade, which Ludlow records with so much satisfaction as a perfect refutation of Baron's plea.

command in foreign service, to come to the assistance of his countrymen; that he had always acted the part of an honourable enemy; and that an unjust sentence could leave no stain on his honourable character. Ireton, notwithstanding, persuaded the council of war to pronounce sentence of death; but Ludlow, and some of the other generals, interfered, representing the odium which such an execution would bring on the English name abroad, where O'Neill was known and respected. His life was consequently spared.

The bigoted clergy saw in these calamities nothing but the means of confirming their own power, and began to oppose Clanricarde as violently as they had Ormond. With folly scarcely credible, they believed that the destruction of the royal authority would clear the way for their favourite schemes of domination, and thought that they could recover the island from the parliamentarians when they pleased. Through their machinations, Ireton was enabled to seize the castle of Clare, and to threaten Galway before marching into winter-quarters. The Irish, at the close of the second campaign, were in a most deplorable condition; and the perverseness of faction left but little reason to hope for any amendment. No preparations whatever were made for the ensuing campaign, while the commanders on the side of the parliament made the most vigorous exertions to bring the war to a speedy termination.

During the winter Ireton died of the plague. His character, though not altogether faultless, was more perfect than that of most of his associates. He constantly protected the peasantry from the violence of the soldiers, and checked the sanguinary excesses of Actel and Sankey.* Like the other fanatics of

* A single example of Sankey's mode of administering justice will be sufficient. One of his soldiers was killed, during the time that he acted as military governor of the county of Tipperary, and all researches to discover the murderer failed. Sankey summoned all the inhabitants of

that gloomy period, he thoroughly detested popery and all its professors, and deemed that its extermination would be an acceptable service to the Almighty. On this account he showed no mercy to the ecclesiastics who fell into his hand, and always excepted the clergy from quarter; but to all others he was usually mild and merciful, though he showed some traces of a cruel disposition after the capture of Limerick. To the commonwealth of England he was a faithful and devoted servant, and would probably, if he had lived, have opposed his father-in-law's usurpation.

A. D. 1652.—Ludlow took the command on the death of Ireton, and soon began to act with vigour. Galway, the last considerable town held by the confederates, submitted without resistance; and the different leaders of Irish troops entered into negotiations for the transportation of themselves and their followers into the service of some foreign power. The first that submitted was Colonel Fitzpatrick, for which he was excommunicated by the prelates; but O'Dwyer soon after followed the example, and the Earl of Westmeath was next added to the number. Sir Phelim O'Neill, the beginner of this tedious war, again became conspicuous towards the close, and joining the Marquis of Clanricarde, captured the forts of Ballyshannon and Donegal. These places however were soon retaken; Clanricarde fled for safety to the isle of Carrick; but Sir Phelim fell into the hands of his enemies. When Fleetwood, whom Cromwell had appointed his deputy, landed, there scarcely remained a royalist force in Ireland. The nuncio's party, whose obstinacy and bigotry had caused the loss of the country, suffered bitterly for their folly; they sent ambassadors offering the crown of Ireland to the pope, the King of France, the King

the parish in which the man was slain at Fethard, and having compelled them to cast lots, hanged five on whom the lots fell.

of Spain, and the Duke of Lorraine; the proffer was everywhere rejected with contempt, and their humble petitions for assistance disdainfully refused. Little pity was felt for the fate of men who had notoriously abused the most abundant means of defence, and who had exerted themselves strenuously to frustrate every plan devised for their protection.

Clanricarde despatched the Earl of Castlehaven to inform the king of the desperate condition of Irish affairs, and in the mean time, maintained a guerilla warfare in the woods and mountains. At length he received a letter from Charles, desiring him to consult for his own safety. He applied to Fleetwood for a pass, which was readily granted, and submitted to the parliament, on condition of not being required to take any oath inconsistent with his duty to his sovereign. Lord Muskerry held out some time longer in the south-west of Munster, but was forced to surrender to Ludlow. On the 26th of September the English parliament declared, that "the rebels in Ireland were subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended."

CHAPTER IV.

The Cromwellian Settlement.

The Irish war was now at an end; the greater part of the nobility and gentry, with the flower of the army, had sought an asylum in foreign lands; the estates of the confederates were deserted rather than forfeited; and the English commonwealth prepared to put into execution a system of confiscation and plantation more extensive and complete than any that Elizabeth, James, or Charles had ventured even

to contemplate. The ordinance for the settling of Ireland amply proves, that the English parliament, notwithstanding its boasted attachment to liberty and justice, was by no means scrupulous in outraging those who were subjected to their power; so true is the aphorism, that large bodies are insensible of shame, and that a collection of men will consent to acts of iniquity, from which each, individually, would have shrunk with horror. The first clause of this ordinance is very remarkable; it declares, that it was not the intention of the English parliament to extirpate the Irish nation!* Such a proposal had been actually made by some of the wilder fanatics, who deemed themselves commissioned by heaven to execute the same vengeance on the idolatrous papists that the Jews did on the inhabitants of Canaan. In every age and country, since the introduction of Christianity, we find enthusiasts invariably preferring the denunciations of the Old Testament to the mercies of the New, and proclaiming themselves rather the servants of a God of vengeance, than of a God of love. The advocates of such monstrous doctrines, the mistaken votaries of the Mosaic, rather than the Christian dispensation, have not yet quite disappeared, but their numbers are now few, and

* The people of England at this period, however, deemed that the soil of Ireland was absolutely their own property, with which they could do as they pleased, and looked upon the natives as possessing no rights, or at least none superior to the beasts of the field. Harrington in his Oceana, a work which advocates the wildest principles of natural liberty, gravely proposes, that Ireland should be leased out to the Jews, and that Island formed into a new Canaan. Nor does he perceive any inconsistency in thus sentencing an entire nation to degrading bondage, in the very book in which he proves that all men are born free. This, however, is not unparalleled; for we are informed that the proprietors of slaves are the most violent democrats in the United States.

The connexion between Ireland and the Jews has engaged the attention of several other speculators. A late historian attempts to prove, that the Irish are descended from the ten tribes; and Mr. Dobbs, a member of the last Irish parliament, attempted to prove, from the prophets and apocalypse, that Ireland is the destined locality of the New Jerusalem! His principal argument is, the similarity in sound and sense between the words Armagh and Armageddon!

their influence contemptible; but in the Cromwellian age, and long afterward, such opinions were boldly propagated and defended. Instead of deeming intolerant principles disgraceful, men seemed to think that the more sanguinary and violent their expressions were the more they evidenced the sincerity of their attachment to pure religion. Not a few of the preachers of that period denounced from their pulpit the sparing of the papists as a heinous sin, and urged the godly to consummate the work of slaughter, "even as Samuel had hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord at Gilgal."*

But though the lives of the Irish were spared, the English parliament felt no scruple respecting their properties. All the papists in the kingdom possessing more than ten pounds, were divided into four classes, each subjected to different degrees of forfeiture.

"First, all persons who, before the 10th of November, 1642, had contrived, acted, or aided the rebellion, murders or massacres, which began in October, 1641; and all Jesuits, priests, or other ecclesiastics, who had any way contrived, aided, or abetted; and all persons who, since the 1st of October, 1641, had slain any person not bearing arms for the English, or who, not being then maintained in arms under the command and pay of the Irish against the English, had slain any person maintained in arms for the English; and all persons who, being in arms against the parliament of England, should not lay them down in twenty-eight days, and submit to their authority, were excepted from pardon of life or estate.

"Secondly, all persons (not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications) who had borne

* A common expression in the mouth of the fanatics, which they regarded at once as a prophecy and a precept, was that passage in the Psalms, "That thy feet may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and that the tongue of thy dogs may be red with the same." It has been asserted, but perhaps not with truth, though the statement has not been contradicted, that this sentence is still used as a pass-word in certain secret societies.

command in the war of Ireland against the parliament of England, were to be banished during the pleasure of the parliament, and to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and their wives and children to be assigned lands to the value of the other third where the parliament should appoint."

"Thirdly, all persons of the popish religion (not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications), who had resided in the kingdom at any time from the 1st of October, 1641, to the 1st of March, 1650, and had not manifested their constant good affection to the interest of the commonwealth of England, were to forfeit one-third of their estates, and to be assigned lands to the value of the other two-thirds where the parliament should appoint.

"Fourthly, all other persons who resided in Ireland within the time aforesaid, and had not been in arms for the parliament, or manifested their good affection to its interest, having an opportunity to do so, were to forfeit one-fifth of their estates.

"Finally, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Inchiquin and Roscommon, and Bramhal, the Protestant Bishop of Derry, were distinctly mentioned by name as obstinate malignants, and declared incapable of pardon for life, title, or estate."

High courts of justice were erected for the trial of those who were accused of murder or massacre. These courts were constituted far differently from the ordinary tribunals of the country: they were in fact a species of courts-martial, in which the parliamentary officers sat both as judges and jurors: they were not very strict in regarding the letter of the law, or the strict rules of evidence: and they were inclined to severity equally by their prejudices and their interest. To the great astonishment of the justiciaries, they found an unaccountable deficiency of victims, after the severest inquisition;—not quite two hundred could be discovered, who could be charged with illegal murders during all the excitement

of a ten years' war; and the evidence against many of these was such as would be rejected in any court of justice, and perhaps by some courts-martial. Lord Mayo in Connaught, and Colonel Bagnal in Munster, were certainly condemned unjustly; and Lord Muskerry would have shared the same fate, had not a crowd of English settlers come forward, to bear grateful testimony to the protection which he had afforded. In Ulster, the only victim was Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had been the first to take up arms, and whose tumultuous followers were the perpetrators of the excesses on which the tale of the pretended Irish massacre was founded. Nothing in the life of this unfortunate chieftain was so honourable as its termination. He was repeatedly offered pardon and restoration to his liberty and estate, if he would produce any *material* proof of his having received a commission from the king for his insurrection; but he affirmed to the last hour of his life, that he never possessed any such authority, and preferred death to the propagation of an unjust calumny.

It must be confessed, that the truth of this anecdote is rather questionable. It was originally narrated by a Protestant clergyman after the Restoration, when it was considered a matter of policy to malign the character both of the Irish and the parliamentarians; and this story fixes on one the stain of forgery, and on the other subornation of perjury. That Sir Phelim forged a commission from the king, and affixed to it a seal taken from a patent of Lord Charlemont's, is certainly possible; but how are we to account for the fact, that none of the Charlemont family knew any thing of such an occurrence, and that when Dr. Leland applied to the Earl of Charlemont, he found that he had no patent in his possession answering the description? That the parliamentarians wished to discover some proofs of the share that Charles was supposed to have in the Irish insurrection, cannot be doubted; and assuredly they

had good reasons to suspect him of secret participation. The character of the "royal martyr" for duplicity and falsehood was unfortunately too notorious; and the transactions with Glamorgan fully prove, that if he did not stimulate the confederate Catholics to take up arms, he at least wished them success. On that occasion also, he showed that his solemn declarations in public were not unfrequently at variance with his private transactions. But even on the evidence of the narrators themselves, the anecdote contains a vindication of the puritans; for they only promised life to O'Neill if he produced tangible evidence of the king's suspected participation, not as has been insinuated, if he merely consented to bring forward the charge.

The disposal of the forfeited estates was the next object that engaged the attention of the English parliament. They determined that these should be distributed according to the provisions of the Act (17 Charles I.), commonly called the Adventurers' Act, which had been passed at the commencement of the civil war. This statute provided that the lands of those who were in arms should be distributed among such persons as should advance money, and become adventurers in the reduction of Ireland. Two millions and a half of acres were to be assigned and allotted in the following proportions; viz. each adventurer of 200*l.* was to have 1000 acres in Ulster; of 300*l.*, 1000 acres in Connaught; of 450*l.*, 1000 acres in Munster; and of 600*l.*, 1000 acres in Leinster, according to English measure. And out of these lands was to be paid a yearly quit-rent reserved to the crown, viz. one penny per acre in Ulster, three halfpence in Connaught, twopence farthing in Munster, and threepence for Leinster. And by the act, every person within three months after receiving his allotment, that should have 1000 acres in Leinster, 1500 in Munster, 2000 in Connaught, or 3000 in Ulster, was to have power to erect a manor,

with a court-baron and a court-leet, and all other privileges belonging to a manor, and with deodands and fugitives' goods, &c.

In the year 1653, preparations were made to put this act into execution, and an ordinance was issued for the satisfaction of the adventurers and soldiers.* By this decree, the forfeited lands in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford, in the province of Munster; the King's and Queen's counties; East and West Meath, in the province of Leinster; Down, Antrim and Armagh, in the province of Ulster; together with the county of Louth, if necessary, except the barony of Atherdee, were to be charged with the money advanced by the adventurers and the arrears of pay due to the soldiers, according to the rates before mentioned, and to be divided between them by baronies, motively by lot; and for the satisfaction of the arrears of the forces there, who should be immediately disbanded, several other proportions of forfeited lands were set out, particularly the lands beginning at one mile from the town of Sligo, and so winding upon the coast, nor above four miles distant from the sea, which was called the mile line.

Commissioners were appointed for putting this ordinance into execution; for taking a survey of the forfeited lands, and appointing a court for receiving and hearing claims; and by the instructions given to the commissioners, the second and third classes of Irish above mentioned, who forfeited one-third or two-thirds of their estates, were to be transplanted into the province of Connaught, and the county of

* "In this transaction those of the army showed great partiality, by confining the satisfaction of arrears only to such as were in arms in August, 1649, which was the time when the English army, commanded by Lieutenant-general Cromwell, arrived in Ireland; and though hardships endured by those who were in arms before had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklow and elsewhere, as was not sufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them."—*Ludlow*, i. 441.

Clare, for the proportions to be allotted them, except the mile line; which line was intended to cut off the communication of the Irish with the sea, as the Shannon was to cut them off from the rest of the kingdom.

Commissioners of delinquency, accordingly, sat at Athlone, to determine the qualifications of papists; and upon their decrees, other commissioners who sat at Loughrea, arranged the transplantation. Many of the Irish gentry did not take out their decrees, and the transplantation was not completed at the Restoration; although all the lands of the Catholics were seized and sequestrated, and the surveys were in hand actually taking; and being thus seized and sequestrated, they were by the Act of Settlement vested in the crown.

The distribution of the greater part of Ireland thus made by the Cromwellians, was nearly as complete as that of Canaan by the Israelites; the example by which the puritans declared that they were directed, and believed that they were justified. The principal sufferers were the Anglo-Irish nobility, who were now plundered of their broad lands with as little ceremony as their ancestors had used to the native inhabitants. A new and strange class of proprietors took the place of the ancient aristocracy, and preserved their acquisitions under every succeeding change. The Irish at the close of this civil war, and afterward, after the revolution, resigned their country and their estates with wondrous readiness, and sought an asylum in foreign lands. But the Cromwellians clung to the land which they had obtained, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, and showed that they in some degree merited their new acquisitions, by the resolute firmness they displayed in their defence. They were for the most part men of low origin, and mean education; but enthusiasm gave them a stern dignity of character, which must command a certain share of respect. That the act

which gave them the lands of the kingdom was an unparalleled public robbery, and the most atrocious instance of unprincipled spoliation recorded in any history, nobody can question. Few, however, felt any scruples at the period; the country they deemed was theirs by right of conquest—a right which they supposed to give them absolute authority over the lives and properties of the vanquished. The sufferers were papists, and they had been taught to look on them as idolatrous blasphemers, whose punishment was an acceptable service in the sight of heaven. There were some, however, whose consciences were not deluded by this miserable and blasphemous sophistry. Several of the soldiers restored their lots to the original proprietors for a trifling consideration, or generously bestowed it as a present. Others sold their lots to their officers; and the writer has frequently seen the muster-rolls of the troops that had assigned their grants to their captains, gratuitously, or for a trifling recompense. Tradition, in many instances, records that the officers married the heiresses of the estates which they had been granted. And this is not improbable; for so many of the nobility and gentry had either fallen in the war, or gone into exile, that the right of inheritance must in countless instances have vested in females.

The land, however, seemed likely to be useless for want of cultivators. The Cromwellians had shown little mercy during the war, and massacred the wretched peasantry by thousands; others they had transported as slaves to the plantations; numbers, as we have already seen, had entered into the service of foreign potentates.* The design of shutting up

* The peasants themselves resigned all hopes of life when they fell into the hands of the puritans. The following anecdote, related by Ludlow in his Memoirs, will probably suggest reflections different from that made by the narrator:—"Being on my march on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced party found two of the rebels, one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them; the other was saved;

the miserable remnant in Connaught was laid aside; they were kept as bondsmen and slaves to the new proprietors; and treated as the Gibeonites had been by Joshua. The Cromwellians ruled their wretched serfs with a rod of iron: they looked upon them as an inferior species, a degraded caste, with whom they could not feel sympathy. The very name of Irish was with them and their descendants an expression of contempt, associated with ideas of intellectual and moral degradation. The peasants were forbidden to leave their parishes without permission; and strictly prohibited from assembling for religious worship, or on any other purpose. The Catholic clergy were ordered to quit the country, under pain of death; and it was declared a capital offence to celebrate mass, or perform any of the ceremonies of Romish worship. Still there were a faithful few who lingered near their beloved congregations, and in spite of the fearful hazard, afforded their flocks the consolation of religion. They exercised their ministry in dens and caves; in the wild fastnesses of the mountains, and in the deserted bogs. The Cromwellians learned that the abominations of popery were still continued in the land, and employed blood-hounds to track the haunts of these devoted men. During the latter part of the seventeenth, and the early part of the eighteenth century, priest-hunting was a favourite field-sport in Ireland.

The character of the rude soldiers was soon changed by the possession of property. Enthusiasm did not become extinct, but it was strangely mixed with more than an ordinary share of worldly prudence. This was first evidenced by the readiness with which the Irish army concurred in Cromwell's usurpation. Originally the most hostile to his designs, they suddenly discovered that his success was

and being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged? he only answered, *If you please!*—so obstinately stupid were many of these poor creatures."—*Ludlow*, vol. i. 202.

essential to the security of their new possessions, and they willingly exerted themselves to invest him with despotic power. Ludlow, who was a consistent republican, would have made some resistance, but found himself totally unsupported; and when Henry Cromwell came over to sound the feelings of the soldiers, he found the great majority zealously attached to his father's interests.

The original Cromwellians were as much opposed to the church of England as to the church of Rome. Prelacy was, in their view, an abomination second only to papacy; and they turned the established clergy out of the churches without scruple. Many of them set up conventicles in different parts of the country, some of which remain to this day; others became Quakers; and others adopted some nondescript form of worship, from the thousand and one sects that sprang up in England during the excitement of the civil war. The rigid and ascetic principles of these fanatics soon yielded to the influence of property, and the enlivening effects of a genial climate. Though traces of the "old covenanting leaven" may still be found in the Protestantism of Ireland, it is certain that rigid morals and severe manners soon disappeared. In the reign of Charles II. the Cromwellians found an alliance with the church necessary for their interests, and quickly laid aside their scruples, and their dread of episcopacy. As new generations arose, the alliance between the established church and the descendants of the puritans became closer, and both joined in compelling the peasantry to pay for the support of the church. But the Cromwellians, though liberal enough with the tithes of the cultivators, were by no means inclined to pay any thing out of their own pocket; and when the parsons applied for the tithe of agistment, which fell exclusively on the gentry, they were suddenly stopped by a vote of the Irish parliament, which declared that such a demand was

destructive of the Protestant interest; and this vote had all the effect of an act of the legislature down to the time of the Union, when it was sanctioned by a positive law, and formed part of the bribe paid to the country gentlemen for sanctioning that measure. Even during the protectorate, we find many of the puritanical pamphlets complaining of the "sad falling-off among the brethren of Ireland;" but before half a century had been completed, the apostacy was perfect, and the English sectarians ceased to regard the Irish Protestants as possessing any share of that sanctity for which the original levellers were so remarkable. "I have eaten with them, drank with them, played with them, fought with them—but I never prayed with them," is the description given of the children of those puritans who had settled in Ireland, by an English visiter, descended himself from the saints of Cromwell, but unfortunately perverted by the sinners of a later generation.

The administration of justice was established on very simple principles; for the courts generally resembled those of a Turkish cadi, where the president is at once judge and jury. It is not, however, true, as has been asserted by some zealous Irishmen, that Cromwell systematically laboured to corrupt the bench. He certainly appointed several judges who were scarcely fit to hold the situation of tipstaff in their own courts; but to this he was forced by necessity rather than inclination. The Irish bar was of very limited extent, and its members were all devoted to the royal cause. The English lawyers, indeed, furnished many devoted partisans of parliament; but they could not be persuaded to accept situations in a country which they looked upon as "a howling wilderness." Donnegan, a man who, like Sir Matthew Hale in England, had forced respect from his political adversaries, was offered the situation of chief-justice; but he preferred an honourable

poverty to holding office under a usurper. The fact, however, of such an offer having been made, proves that the protector was not anxious to corrupt the fountains of justice. The presidency of the courts in Munster was given to John Cooke, who had been employed as solicitor-general for the parliament on the trial of Charles I., and never did a more upright man sit on the bench. He was hanged as a regicide after the Restoration; but his memory is still hallowed in the traditions of the peasantry, and his posterity still reap the fruits of his virtues, in the respect shown to his descendants.

Cromwell intrusted the government of Ireland to his son Henry, and a wiser choice he could not have made. Under his administration, the scandalous peculation of the commissioners of the forfeited estates was repressed, the violence of the soldiers restrained, and legal protection afforded to the peasantry. The lord-deputy made a tour through the island, and formed a just estimate of its natural advantages. He was particularly struck with the fine harbours and noble bays on the west coast, which afford so many facilities for commerce, but which still remain neglected. He devised several beneficial plans for rendering the great resources of Ireland available; but before any steps could be taken for their accomplishment, the protector died, and a new revolution removed Henry from a situation which he had filled with equal integrity and ability. It is honourable to the character of Henry Cromwell, and the officers of the Irish army, that they were deeply impressed with the necessity of encouraging learning. They purchased, at their own expense, the magnificent library of Primate Usher, which his heirs were about to sell by auction, and kept it for a second college, which they intended to found in Dublin; but after the Restoration, this, with many other useful projects, was laid aside, and this valuable collection transferred to the library of Trinity College.

The protector has the merit of having first projected the union of the Irish and English legislatures. In his "Instrument of Government," it was provided that Ireland should be represented by thirty members in the Imperial Parliament; but unfortunately he never put the plan into execution; and his successors were not sensible of its advantages. In fine, the Cromwellian administration may fairly challenge a comparison with the best of those by which it was preceded, and with many of those that followed, so far as the supreme government was concerned; but the local magistracies were of necessity intrusted to men wholly unfitted for responsible situations. There are no materials for a history of Ireland under the protectorate. The puritans were not a literary people, and were too much occupied in securing their new estates to write. The few sketches given have been chiefly derived from contemporary pamphlets, from collections of old letters preserved by a few families, and from tradition. It would have been easy to have drawn the picture in darker colours, and to have added traits of ferocious fanaticism, sometimes ludicrous and sometimes disgusting; but the exposure of the follies of religious enthusiasm may be easily confounded with attacks on religion itself—may offend the sincerely pious, and furnish new weapons of attack to the profane. We have therefore touched these subjects as lightly as possible. Perhaps, however, enough has been said to enable the reader to form some idea of the Cromwellian aristocracy, which, until very lately, under the title of the English party, or "the Protestant ascendency," monopolized the government of Ireland.

On the death of Oliver, Richard Cromwell became lord protector, and, though ably supported by his brother, soon felt the reins of government slipping from his hands. After his resignation, the parliament, dreading the abilities of Henry Cromwell,

determined to remove him from the government, and, imagining that he would make a struggle to preserve his authority, sent over Sir Hardress Waller, with orders to surprise the castle of Dublin. But Henry Cromwell was too wise and too good to enter into any contest for the possession of power. He at once resigned his office, and retired to a small house in the Phœnix Park. With such little regard to his own private interest had this upright man administered the government, that he was detained some time by the want of a sufficient sum to pay the expenses of his passage to England. The new government had scarcely been installed, when an unexpected revolution occurred, which terminated in the restoration of the royal authority, under circumstances that can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any age or nation.

CHAPTER V.

The Restoration—The King's Declaration.

A. D. 1660.—It has been already stated, that the Irish Puritans, after being raised from the rank of mercenary soldiers to that of rich landed proprietors, began to display more wisdom and prudence than is usually found connected with enthusiasm. Several of the leaders became convinced, that their darling scheme of a republic was no longer practicable; and though they had formerly denounced monarchy as inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Deity, they began now to discover that regal authority was necessary to the completion of their security. At the head of this party was Lord Broghill, a nobleman who had only joined Cromwell from private motives,

and who seems, under all circumstances, to have preserved his attachment to monarchy.* During the king's exile, he maintained a confidential correspondence with Ormond and others of the royal council, and used all his influence with Cromwell to procure favour and protection for the cavaliers. His first associate was Coote, the most unprincipled and sanguinary of the parliamentary leaders; but though his hands were still red with the slaughter of the king's friends, Coote entered into the scheme of restoration with a violent zeal, which threatened to ruin the plot by precipitating the attempt. The conspirators were soon joined by Lord Montgomery, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St. George, Sir Audley Mervyn, and other distinguished puritans; but the suspicions of the parliamentary commissioners were awakened, and Broghill was subjected to a strict examination. His profound dissimulation saved him. He denounced monarchy as a "ruinous

* The following anecdote is related very circumstantially by Maurice, an historian of some authority. From some of his friends in the exiled court, Broghill learned that Charles admired the personal charms of the Lady Frances, Cromwell's daughter, and was by no means averse to an alliance with her. Having obtained the king's permission to sound the protector on the subject, Broghill communicated the matter to Cromwell's wife and daughter, and then caused a rumour of it to be spread abroad in London. Soon after he presented himself to Cromwell, and being asked, "What news in the city?" after some affected delay, replied, "Every one reports that you are about to give your daughter Frances to the king."—"Well," asked Cromwell, "and what do the fools think of it?"—"All like it, and I think it the wisest thing you can do, if it can be accomplished." Cromwell, who had first looked upon the matter as a jest, now began to view it in a more serious light, and asked, "Do you really think so too?" Broghill availed himself of the opening, and urged the measure by some very powerful reasons. Cromwell heard him with great attention; and when he had concluded, paced the apartment in silence, obviously agitated by violent emotions. At length, turning to Broghill, he said, "The king would never forgive me the death of his father." Broghill was afraid to confess that he had already commenced a negotiation; but promised to use every exertion to effect a reconciliation. Cromwell, however, still repeated, "The king cannot, and will not, forgive the death of his father." Broghill then retired, and having informed Cromwell's wife and daughter of his failure, begged that they would exert their influence; but the despair of obtaining sincere forgiveness rendered the protector deaf to their remonstrances and entreaties.

wickedness;" averred that he would sooner die than give "the Lord's heritage to strangers;" and was scarcely dismissed when he prepared for the instant execution of his designs. The towns which had so opportunely revolted to Cromwell, were now the first to declare for Charles. He was proclaimed at Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale, amid the loudest acclamations. Galway was secured by Coote, and a sudden attack gave the confederates possession of Dublin. Sir Hardress Waller, having been one of the late king's judges, had reason to fear that this change would terminate in his destruction, and therefore resisted it most obstinately; but he was besieged in the castle of Dublin, and being forced to surrender in a few days, was sent as a prisoner to England. Ludlow, on the first news of these events, hastened over to resume the government of Ireland and restore the commonwealth; but, when he arrived in the bay of Dublin, he found that orders had been issued for his arrest, and he therefore retired to Duncannon, the governor of which still continued faithful to the parliament. All the exertions, however, of this zealous republican were unavailing. The Cromwellians were not to be checked in their new career of loyalty; and Ludlow returned to London, where the equivocal proceedings of Monk had begun to give general alarm.

A convention was summoned to meet in Dublin; and the king's declaration at Breda being presented to this assembly, it was received with the most tumultuous joy. A present of twenty thousand pounds to the king, four thousand to the Duke of York, and two thousand to the Duke of Gloucester, was voted by acclamation; and Broghill's prudent proposal to make some conditions with the new sovereign was rejected. An invitation to Ireland was sent to Charles, which would have been accepted, but for the new revolution which Monk effected in England. On the 29th of May, Charles was restored to the

throne of his ancestors; and the British commonwealth ceased to exist.

The condition of Ireland at the Restoration was the most extraordinary possible. The old inhabitants and the new adventurers, the Catholics and the Protestants, hated each other most cordially; and there was scarcely less animosity between the different sects into which the Protestants were divided. The Catholics were naturally the most impatient. They hoped now to recover the estates which they had lost by their fidelity to the monarch that had been just restored; and those who had been declared innocent by Cromwell were foremost in demanding restoration of their property. A few more violent than the rest did not wait for tedious forms of law, and at once ejected the intruders from their lands; and thus afforded their enemies a pretext, of which they were not slow in availing themselves. The cry of a new rebellion was raised. Agents were sent over to England, where every report unfavourable to the Irish was then received with peculiar avidity; and such was the effect of the clamour, that in the act of indemnity, all who had at any time aided or abetted the Irish rebellion, were expressly excluded. Another clause enacted, that no estates disposed of by the parliament or convention should be restored to the original proprietors; and it was not without the fiercest opposition that an exception was inserted of "the Marquis of Ormond, and other Protestants of Ireland."

The provisional government which the puritans had established in Dublin, rigorously put in force the most severe ordinances which had been issued against the Catholics. They were not allowed to quit their places of residence without special permission. All assemblies of the gentry were strictly prohibited, and every effort made to prevent their electing agents to lay their just claims before the king. These arbitrary exertions were powerfully

seconded by the English parliament, anxious at once to retain its usurped authority over Ireland, and to preserve the support of a powerful body of adherents, in case of any future contest with the crown. The king had no sooner arrived in London, than addresses were sent up by both Houses of Parliament, representing the dangers to be dreaded from the violence of certain natives of Ireland; and Charles was obliged to issue a proclamation for apprehending Irish rebels, and for securing all adventurers and soldiers in the possession of the lands they then held, until legally evicted, or his majesty, by advice of parliament, should take further order therein.

The case of the Irish Catholics has been so studiously and atrociously misrepresented, that a brief statement of the leading particulars is necessary. The imputed massacre of the Protestants has always been the excuse urged for the extensive spoliation to which they were subjected; and yet a moment's examination will suffice to show, that this massacre, whether real or fictitious, has nothing whatever to do with the question. The murders that have been so often mentioned were all committed in the north by the people of Ulster, before any of the confederate Catholics had taken up arms. The forfeited lands lay principally in Leinster and Munster; and their proprietors not only had no share in the alleged atrocities, but denounced them in the severest terms.* The war of the confederates was in no sense of the word a rebellion. The Lords of the Pale took up arms to defend themselves, and the cause of their king and country, against the unprincipled Parsons,

* This argument was answered, then and since, by a most astounding example of "the sophism of name." It was gravely urged, that, as some Irish papists had committed murders, all Irish papists were involved in the guilt, and liable to the penalties. This convenient mode of arguing from individuals to classes, in spite of Aristotle, is not peculiar to Ireland; but it certainly has prevailed there more extensively, and for a longer time, than in any other country. The use of it, indeed, is not even yet discontinued.

and his vile supporters. During the entire contest, they professed a zealous attachment to the royal cause, and were ready to support the king with their lives and properties. The war which had been protracted by the artifices of Ormond, prevented them from giving Charles such efficient assistance in his contest with the parliament as they eagerly desired; but after the peace, or rather truce, of 1646, they had sent him aids both of men and money. Two solemn treaties, in 1646 and 1648, had been concluded between them and their sovereign, by which they were promised security for their religion, liberty, and property. In consideration of these promises, they had boldly maintained their sovereign's right against Cromwell, as long as they possessed the means of resistance, and rejected the authority of the usurper, even after England and Scotland had acknowledged his sway. The loss of their estates was, in fact, the consequence of their desperate fidelity; for they might easily have secured them by early submission to the English parliament.

It is doubtful whether Charles had the power of doing justice to these men: it is certain that he had not the inclination. Ormond persuaded him that the puritans had unconsciously done him a great service by establishing an English interest in Ireland, and accomplishing the favourite schemes of his father and grandfather,—an extensive plantation. He easily showed that the new proprietors would be more subservient than the rightful owners, as the existence of their property entirely depended on their support of the government; and proved how much more valuable were subjects ready to purchase favour than those who possessed weighty claims on gratitude. None of the Stuarts were remarkable for preferring principles to policy; and Charles was troubled with fewer scruples than any of them. He saw that to act justly was a work of difficulty and danger, and one in which virtue should be its own

reward; but an iniquitous course he knew to be safe and profitable, and his choice was instantly decided.

Though Charles had not yet become the pensioner and hireling of France, he was in some degree already dependent upon the French king, who advocated the cause of the Irish Catholics. The queen-mother, and other influential personages, also were disposed to view them with favour; and not a few of them, who had accompanied the king into exile, and served him faithfully under all calamities, had personal claims on his regard. The Protestant officers, who had served under Ormond previous to the peace, whom Cromwell had refused to pay, clamoured for their arrears; and the king was forced by irresistible circumstances to undertake the perplexing task of making some arrangement of the affairs of Ireland. Various plans were proposed and examined in the privy-council, and rejected as impracticable. The council, indeed, had resolved as a preliminary that the Cromwellians should be secured in their possessions; and the only difficulty was, how the claims of others should be satisfied. At length, a scheme was devised by Lord Broghill, now created Earl of Orrery, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur Mervyn, by which the forfeited lands not belonging to the Cromwellians should be formed into a common stock, from which the innocent or meritorious Irish might be compensated, or *reprised*, as it was termed. Charles eagerly embraced a plan that promised to relieve him from his embarrassment, and published his celebrated declaration for the settlement of Ireland.

The first two clauses of this declaration confirm the adventurers and soldiers in the possession of all lands, except such as had belonged to the church, which had been assigned them for money advanced, or arrears of pay. Officers who had served in the royal army before June, 1649, were to receive lands

as a satisfaction for their arrears, at the rate of twelve and sixpence in the pound, and an equal dividend of whatever should remain of their security. Protestants, whose estates had been given to adventurers, were to be restored, and the adventurers reprised, without being accountable for the *mesne* profits. Innocent papists were to be restored, and the persons in possession of their land reprised; but no papist was to be restored to an estate lying within a corporate town, for it was deemed necessary to keep all the corporations in the hands of Protestants. Such persons, however, were to be reprised in the neighbourhood. Papists who had submitted to the Cromwellian arrangement, and taken lands in Connaught, were to be bound thereby, and not relieved from their own act. Those who had joined the king in his exile, and served under his banners, were to be restored to their estates, but not until the persons in possession had been reprised. Additional grants were made to Ormond and Inchiquin, who had been restored to their estates by an act of the English parliament. Grants of forfeited lands were made to Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and some others; and thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry, specially named as objects of his majesty's peculiar favour, were ordered to be restored, on the same conditions as those who had served under the royal ensigns abroad. Those who had not been assigned lands in Connaught were to be restored first, and the rest in the order of the establishment of their innocency. The settlement was to be confirmed by a parliament, promised to be summoned speedily, and acts of oblivion and indemnity to be then passed. His majesty accepted, as a free gift from the adventurers and soldiers, half of their rent for two years, to be applied to his service, and that of eminent sufferers in his cause. Those who had contrived the seizure of the castle of Dublin, and all who had a share in the trial and execution of the late king, were

excluded from the benefit of the declaration. Lands belonging to corporations were to be restored, and the possessors reprised.

The Protestant royalists complained bitterly of the clause which sentenced them to receive only a composition for their arrears, while the Cromwellians, the enemies of the king, received full payment. They asserted, and not without justice, that his majesty had sacrificed his most faithful friends to his most inveterate enemies. The Catholics were, with as much reason, indignant at finding that the restitution of their estates was to be delayed until those in possession had been reprised. But when they found that the commissioners for executing the declaration were men bound to the adventurers and soldiers by interest and inclination, and that the instructions given to these commissioners were framed in a spirit most hostile to the Irish, they were filled with melancholy apprehensions. The qualifications of innocence are supposed to have been framed by Ormond, and were studiously contrived to prevent any of that nation from obtaining a sentence of acquittal.

No man was to be restored as an innocent papist, who, at or before the cessation of the year 1643, had been of the royal party, or lived within the quarters of the confederate Catholics, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who had been forcibly expelled from their habitations, and driven into the hostile lines by the fanatics that had settled in these towns. No man was to be deemed innocent who had actively engaged in the confederacy before the peace of 1648, or who had adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power, in opposition to the royal authority; or who, having been excommunicated for his adherence to that authority, had acknowledged himself an offender, and obtained absolution. Whoever derived his title from persons guilty of these crimes—*whoever claimed his estate on*

the articles of peace, and thus acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion—whoever in the English quarters had held correspondence with the confederates, or sat in their councils, or acted under their commission—whoever employed agents to treat with any foreign power for bringing forces into Ireland, or acted in such negotiations, or harassed the country as "Tories" (a name given to the independent guerilla parties), before the departure of the Marquis of Clanricarde,—were all to be considered as desperate rebels, and incapable of restitution.

It is not necessary to contrast these documents with the indulgence shown to the republicans and regicides, in order to point out their monstrous iniquity. No person who has carefully read the most prejudiced narrative of the civil war can hesitate to confess that they exhibit an utter disregard of even the appearance of justice. The article that sentenced those to forfeiture who had resided within the lines of the confederates was especially remarkable; for it was notorious that the lords-justices would not permit the Catholic gentry to reside anywhere else, and had issued proclamations banishing, on pain of death, all those who sought refuge in Dublin.

The parliament and the people of England, on the other hand, regarded the declarations as too favourable to the papists! Taken individually, there is not on the earth a more noble and generous people than the English; but taken collectively, there are few that have committed grosser acts of national injustice. Appeals made to their pride, their passion, or their prejudice, have frequently been found more effectual than a calm address to their honour or their generosity. It was the same in the free states of antiquity, and appears to be part of the penalty paid for freedom. The Athenians plundered the islands of the Ægean without scruple; the Romans seized on the Arician lands without conde-

scending to produce the shadow of a claim; and the English believed that in disposing of the lands of Ireland they gave away what was absolutely their own. The very peasants spoke of the country as *our* kingdom, of Ireland, just as, in the beginning of the American war, they talked of *our* colonies; and there was not one who did not feel himself elevated in his own opinion by this fancied participation in sovereignty over another people. It was also a settled maxim in what may be called the political economy of the day, that Ireland should be systematically depressed, in order to prevent her from becoming a formidable rival of England. Her great natural resources, her fertile soil, her noble rivers, her capacious harbours, were viewed with jealousy and suspicion, as means of securing future independence, and raising her to an eminence that would eclipse the glory of her illustrious rival. The puritans promised to avert this terrible consummation. They offered, if their ascendency was secured, to crush the energies of Ireland, to render the bounties of Providence unavailing, to produce wretchedness where God had given plenty, and to spread desolation where Nature had created a paradise. The English accepted the offer, and the Cromwellians kept their promise to the letter.

A. D. 1661.—The new parliament that met in Dublin was composed of the most heterogeneous materials. The House of Lords contained the shattered remnant of the ancient nobility—a body of men that might then challenge comparison with the proudest aristocracy in Europe. But the House of Commons consisted of the soldiers and adventurers who had seized on the corporations—men that had risen from the very lowest ranks, and were perfectly ignorant of the most ordinary usages of civilized society. The most whimsical and extraordinary anecdotes are traditionally told of the strange exhibitions

made by these men as magistrates* and country gentlemen; but they were themselves perfectly unconscious of their deficiencies. Spiritual pride and consummate impudence, founded equally on ignorance and self-sufficiency, brought them through all the scrapes in which they were frequently involved, whenever they came into contact with the crown or the Upper House. One of the first objects that engaged the attention of the new parliament was the restoration of the Established Church, which, it was supposed, would encounter the most determined opposition. But Ormond, by whose advice the government was chiefly directed, had a plan for overcoming the scruples of the puritans which was found of wondrous efficacy. He brought on the question of the church establishment prior to the consideration of the settlement of estates: and the puritans, more careful of their new lands than their old principles, cheerfully assented to the revival of prelacy and the liturgy, the destruction of which had been their primary object in taking up arms against their sovereign. With equal readiness they concurred in censuring their own old "solemn league and covenant," and in condemning their former oaths of association. Their next proceeding was a curious sample of the kind of justice that the new ascendency desired to establish. They voted an address to the lords-justices that the term should be adjourned and

* One, if for nothing but its ingenuity, deserves to be recorded. A worthy magistrate, having occasion to write the word "usage," contrived to spell it without using a single letter of the original word; his improved orthography was *youzitch*. When some remarks were made on similar feats, he averred that "nobody could spell with pens made from the quills of Irish geese!" The following letter, ascribed to the same worthy, is said to be still in existence.

"DEAR JOHN,
"I sind you 2 pups for your 2 sisters, which are 2 bitches.
"I am,
"Your brethren in the Lord,
"T**** M****
"—— *Castle, June 9th* 1663."

the courts of law shut up, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries and the ejectment of adventurers or soldiers before their titles should be adjusted by statute. The House of Lords refused, at first, to assent to such an open violation of the constitution; but they were finally persuaded to concur in the address; and the lords-justices complied with the request.

A few Roman Catholics had been returned to this parliament by the counties, and one or two boroughs that still retained their affections for the "old families." The presence even of these gave great pain to the puritans; they believed themselves polluted by coming into contact with the idolatrous papists, and determined on their removal. A bill for imposing an oath of qualification was hastily prepared; but it was unceremoniously rejected by the English privy council. They next attempted to exclude them by a vote of the house, declaring that all the members should take the oath of supremacy, and receive the sacrament from the hands of the primate; but the lords-justices condemned the resolution as an invasion of the royal prerogative. This notable attempt to degrade a solemn ordinance of religion is the more remarkable, as the majority of those who voted for it were themselves at heart dissenters, and believed the sacraments of the Church of England impure and unchristian. Disappointed in their efforts, the puritans lost their temper, and exclaimed violently against the unreasonable partiality of the government to papists. With more prudence they had recourse to a policy which, under similar circumstances, has been frequently found effective in Ireland. They revived the rumours of plots and conspiracies, averred that the papists were on the point of raising a new insurrection, and by this means contrived to cover the obnoxious party with additional odium, at a time that they had to contend with them for their estates.

CHAPTER VI.

The Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

The great business of the Irish parliament was the formation of an act for the settlement of the kingdom pursuant to the king's declaration. In the House of Commons it was resolved to adhere strictly to the terms of that instrument, which had been worded so as to exclude almost all the Irish; but the lords would by no means concur in such a determination. They naturally sympathized with the ancient gentry of the land, and felt indignant at seeing their properties usurped by men of low extraction, by whose vulgarity they were disgusted, by whose presumption they were subjected to annoyance and insult. At the head of those who determined to do something for the old proprietors stood the Earl of Kildare, a nobleman possessing the old undaunted spirit of the Geraldines—strong in hereditary power and historic name—fortified by extensive connexions—and supported by Ormond, now a duke, whose proxy he held. The principal object to which the attention of this party was directed was the enlargement of the fund for reprisals. It was found that the commissioners had been guilty of the most scandalous practices in granting these; that they had rejected the claims of those whom the king had nominated, and those who served under his ensigns abroad and shared the calamities of his exile, under pretence that there was no means of reprising the present possessors; and that they had clandestinely granted the lands allotted for reprisals to their particular friends. The lords insisted on a clause for the revocation of these fraudulent grants.

Another and more important clause tended greatly to diminish the claims of the adventurers. The English parliament, not content with their lavish distribution of the lands of Ireland by the 17th of Charles I.,* acted on what they called the *Doubling Ordinance*. This document declared that whoever advanced one-fourth more than his original adventure should have the whole doubled on account, and receive lands as if the double sum had been actually paid; and that, if the adventurer refused to advance this fourth, any other person, on paying it, should reap the same advantage on repaying the adventurer the sum he had originally advanced! Sir John Clotworthy, who had been lately created Lord Massarene, was a prime agent in procuring the enactment of this ordinance. He had, at the time, purchased up the shares of several adventurers; and he now zealously contended that the king was bound by the terms of the agreement. Kildare replied that this ordinance could not be considered of the same validity as an act of parliament; that the money raised in obedience to it had been used to pay the English army then fighting against the king: and that it was absurd to require the sacrifice of at least one hundred and fifty thousand acres, for which no consideration whatever had been received. In spite of Massarene's opposition, Kildare's clause, enacting that the adventurers should be satisfied only for the money advanced, and no more, was carried. The heads of the bill were at length finally determined. A copy was laid before the lords-justices, and by them transmitted to England: whither went also commissioners from both houses of parliament, and accredited agents, to plead the cause of the Irish Catholics.

London became now the scene of the intrigues by which the fate of Irish property was to be decided.

* See the commencement of this volume.

The adventurers and soldiers raised a considerable sum of money to bribe the English council; and the Irish House of Commons had secured the favour of the Duke of Ormond by voting him a present of thirty thousand pounds. A stronger ground of hope was the favour of the English people, now fully awakened to the importance of the contest, and more prejudiced than ever against the Irish and the papists by the mass of calumnies which, through the means of their numerous friends and relatives, the Cromwellians zealously circulated throughout England. The Irish had neither money nor friends; nor did they atone for this deficiency by patience or prudence. Ormond, anxious to secure an interest with all parties, judiciously advised them to assume an humble tone, to appeal to the king's mercy, and to win favour by promises of future submissive behaviour. The Irish suspected the duke's sincerity, and so far were perfectly right; but they rejected his advice and spurned his assistance, in which they were decidedly wrong. With the fatality that marked all their measures, they chose as their patron Richard Talbot, afterward Earl of Tyrconnel, who had been a companion of the king in exile, and was a personal friend of the Duke of York, but who on this occasion greatly overrated his own influence and that of his patron. The Irish rested their claims upon right and justice. They contrasted their unshaken loyalty with the conduct of those who had brought their monarch to a scaffold; and boldly claimed the fulfilment of the articles of peace that had been established in 1648. This demand was utterly inconsistent with the scheme of establishing an English interest in Ireland, of which Charles declared himself the patron; and the Irish rightly attributing this determination to the Duke of Ormond sent Talbot to remonstrate with him on the subject Talbot expostulated more like a soldier than a statesman. He challenged the duke to single combat.

Ormond had no inclination to fight; he therefore complained to the council. Talbot was instantly committed to the Tower, and only released on making humble submission.

This was a bad omen for the Irish, and might have shown them the danger of urging their claims with offensive vehemence. But they still persevered, and thus displeased Charles, who looked upon every concession made to them as an act of free grace and favour, and offended the privy council, many of whom were personally concerned in waging war against the late king. In the mean time, the popular clamour against the Irish was increased by every artifice that avarice and malignity could devise; and as the English happened just then to labour under one of their periodical fits of insanity, they were easily made the dupes of designing men. Tales the most absurd were invented and believed—calumnies not merely improbable, but physically impossible, were not found too gross for public credulity. The lie refuted to-day was simply repeated on the morrow, and met general credence: again it was proved false, and again as regularly proclaimed as a fact. Charles had formed his determination from the very beginning, and had only protracted the discussion in the hope of finding some reasonable pretext for dismissing the Irish claimants. The Cromwellians saw his difficulties, and chance supplied them with the means of extrication. One of the agents appointed by the Irish was Sir Nicholas Plunket, who had taken an active part in the ruinous conferences at Jamestown, and whose name was actually signed to the tender of the crown of Ireland to the pope. A draft of this document, how obtained Heaven only knows, was procured by the Cromwellian agents, and laid before the council. Charles affected indignation and surprise to perfection. An order was made that no further petitions should be received from the Irish, who had been already fully heard;

and Sir Nicholas Plunket was forbidden to appear in his majesty's presence. The bill, including the severe qualifications of innocency, received the royal sanction, and soon after passed both houses of the Irish parliament.

The public history of this important transaction is not very intelligible. It is difficult to discover the reasons that induced the king to prefer the enemies of the royal authority to those who had been the most zealous friends of himself and his family. The dread of a new civil war, from the excited feelings of the English people, will scarcely account for the readiness with which he consented to the arrangement, though it certainly was a very influential motive; and the scheme of establishing an English interest in Ireland, could have little charms for a monarch whose entire reign showed an utter disregard of the interests of the nations that were cursed by such a ruler. We do not possess any secret memoirs of the early part of this disgraceful reign; and the private documents that have been collected are so filled with notorious falsehoods, that we cannot place confidence in a single statement that they contain. Indolence, and an anxiety to put an end to perplexing contests, was probably the principal cause of his precipitate decision.*

Besides confirming and extending the declaration and instructions, and providing for the appointment of commissioners to hear and decide claims, the act provided for the restoration of all church lands, and the estates of Trinity College. Power was given to the commissioners, during seven years, to plant Protestant colonies on lands not restored; and they were granted full authority to erect another college, to be of the University of Dublin, to be called by

* Some of the Protestant historians gravely assign as the cause, and the justification of the king's robbery and ingratitude, that, "being a Protestant king, he could not trust papist subjects;" and many years have not elapsed since such an argument would have been deemed conclusive. But, unfortunately for this reasoning, Charles was at the time secretly a papist himself.

the name of the King's College, to be endowed with estates of the yearly value of 2000*l.*, and to be governed by such statutes as his majesty should appoint. The two latter clauses have ever since remained a dead letter.

The Act of Settlement was received with indignation by all the parties interested in its operation, and by none with fiercer anger than the adventurers and soldiers, for whose interests it best provided. The number of the Irish nobility and gentry nominated by the king to be restored in full, as objects of special favour, had been increased, which the puritans deemed an unpardonable partiality to "the popish interest," as they expressed it, though several of the nominees were Protestants. The restoration of church property was scarcely less offensive to men, who in their secret souls detested prelacy as much as papacy. And finally, the clause enacting that no adventurer should be satisfied for more money than he had really advanced, in the language of Hotspur,

> ——"comes me cranking in,
> And cuts me from the best of all my land,
> A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle out."

The royalist Protestant officers found their security greatly diminished by some clauses of the act, especially by several large grants which were made to the Earl of Leicester and others. The Irish Catholics complained loudly and justly that they had not been heard fully before the council, and that their agents had not been consulted in framing the act.

The only person capable of managing the complicated affairs of Ireland was the Duke of Ormond. He had been the chief instrument in bringing about the confusion and disarrangement which prevailed; and on him the task of restoring order necessarily devolved. He came over as lord-lieutenant with unusual pomp, and was received with great warmth

by all parties, each hoping that he would be the advocate of their claims. The commissioners appointed to consider the qualifications of innocency were Englishmen; they had been carefully selected on account of their attachment to the cause of Protestant ascendency; but they acted with more impartiality than the government either expected or desired. Rigorous as the qualifications of innocency had been made, in the first month of trials thirty-eight were pronounced innocent, and only seven innocent; in the second, seven were declared guilty, and fifty-three acquitted; in the third, seventy-seven were found innocent, and only five condemned. This was a result which nobody had anticipated. Ormond, who had devised the entire plan of the qualifications and commissions, was confounded. The Cromwellians, fearing that their plunder was about to be wrested from their hands, boldly determined to take up arms. A committee of the officers who had served in Cromwell's army met to organize the scheme of a general insurrection, and laid a plan for seizing the castle of Dublin. The House of Commons was in a violent rage at the probability of seeing justice done to the papists. They presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, requiring him to make the qualifications still more rigorous, and suggesting such alterations as would have involved the whole Irish party in one sweeping condemnation. The whole house, with Sir Audley Mervyn the speaker at their head, went up with the address; and Mervyn, on presenting it, made an inflated speech full of dark hints and mysterious warnings. Ormond received the address very coldly, and gave a very unsatisfactory reply. Mervyn resolved to appeal to the public, and printed his speech. Its quaint style and figurative obscurity was not suited to the temper of the times, and the prejudices of the people; and the government, dreading the effects, commenced prosecutions against the printers both in

London and Dublin. The Commons, finding that their directions had not been adopted, passed a resolution, declaring, "that they would apply their utmost remedies to prevent and stop the great and manifold prejudices and inconveniences which daily did, and were likely to happen to the Protestants of Ireland, by the proceedings of the commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement."

Ormond feared that the puritans would destroy their own interests, and determined to save them in spite of themselves. He promptly arrested the principal leaders, and issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of those who had escaped. But he did not venture to proceed with too much rigour against Protestant rebels; a few were executed, the rest received the king's pardon. The firmness of the lord-lieutenant awed the violent faction in the House of Commons; they withdrew the obnoxious resolution, but at the same time they sent up an address, representing the dangers arising from recusants, and from the confluence of priests, friars, and jesuits; and requested that a proclamation should be issued, banishing all popish ecclesiastics from the kingdom.

No less than four thousand claims were entered for trial before the commissioners; and from the number that had already established their innocency, there was reason to dread that the Catholic proprietors would recover a large portion of their estates. This was evaded by a new contrivance. The time for the sitting of the commissioners was limited to a certain number of days, during which only about one-fourth of the claims could be heard; the court then closed, and was never opened afterward. About three thousand of the most ancient and respectable Irish families were thus stripped of their property, without even the form of a trial, without enjoying a privilege not refused to the meanest criminal, that of being heard in their own defence. They made

strong and earnest applications to the king for redress; but Charles, in compliance with the advice of his counsellors, refused to pay the slightest regard to their petitions. Of course, they were finally and hopelessly ruined.

Every person was wearied out by the protracted discussions on Irish affairs: the uncertainty of their property, and the expense and trouble entailed on them while affairs remained in this unsettled condition, made the contending parties desire any conclusion. The London adventurers offered to resign their lands to the king, and to account for the mesne profits, on condition of being repaid their principal, with compound interest at three per cent.; the adventurers and soldiers offered to relax their pretensions, in order to obtain a final settlement; and the fund for reprisals was considerably augmented by the discovery of innumerable frauds of which the commissioners had been guilty. They had given disproportionate satisfactions to their own friends, used admeasurements scandalously false, and returned some of the best land in the kingdom as barren and worthless. By the correction of these wrongs, a new and considerable addition was made to the stock of reprisals; and, under these favourable circumstances, orders were given to prepare the "Act of Explanation and final Arrangement." The only concessions made to the Catholics whose claims had not been heard, was, that Ormond was permitted to nominate twenty out of the three thousand to be restored to their estates as objects of special favour; and even this grace proved so distasteful to those who made their zeal for Protestantism a cloak for their cupidity, that Ormond did not venture to present the bill to the House of Commons, until he had procured the removal of some of the most violent members.

By the Act of Explanation it was provided, that all lands and possessions vested in the king by the

Act of Settlement should be freed and discharged from all estates tail, and from all conveyances made before the 23d of October 1641, by any tenant in tail. *Persons not therefore adjudged innocent, were for ever barred from any claim.* The adventurers and soldiers to be confirmed within two months. No adventurer, soldier, Forty-nine officer, or Protestant purchaser in Connaught or Clare, before the 1st of September, 1663, in possession of lands restorable, to be removed until he should have as much other forfeited land set out to him. All deficient adventurers to be satisfied in the same barony or county. Protestant officers, serving before 1649, confirmed in lands not already decreed away by the commissioners. Protestant purchasers from transplanted persons to hold two-thirds, and no person to be reprised above two-thirds. All lands vested in the king, or restored by virtue of any decrees, or by this or the former act, subject to quit-rents as in the former act, except the lands in Ulster, which were to be thenceforth charged at twopence per acre. In case of doubts or defects arising or appearing in the act, the commissioners might within two years after their next sitting acquaint the lord-lieutenant and council therewith; and that such order of amendment or explanation as they should make in writing within the said two years, and enrolled in chancery, should be as effectual as if it were part of the act.

In pursuance of this last clause, the commissioners proposed certain doubts to the lord-lieutenant and council, and an explanatory order was issued which may be considered part of the act. It declared that all estates and possessions which, on the 23d of October, 1641, or at any time since, belonged to any Irish papist, or which had been returned by the civil survey or Down survey, as belonging to any Irish papist, and which at any time after the 23d of October, 1641, were seized or sequestrated, or vested in

his majesty upon account of the rebellion (excepting such estates as had been decreed to innocents, and belonged to them on the 22d of October, 1641, and excepting such lands as had been restored to the former proprietors, by some clause in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and excepting any lands for which some judgment or decree was held by a Protestant in the late court or pretended court of claims, or in any of the four courts before the 22d of August, 1663), should at all times thereafter, in the four courts sitting in Dublin, and in all courts of justice, and in all trials, actions, and suits, both in law and equity, as well between his majesty and any of his subjects, as between party and party without any further proof, should be always construed to have been seized, sequestrated, and, from the 23d of October aforesaid, forfeited to his majesty without any inquisition or office found, &c. And it further declared, that after the commissioners for executing the said acts have adjudged any of the said lands so vested in, or forfeited to his majesty, to any person or persons who, by said acts are entitled thereunto, and letters-patent should be thereon passed, *the rights, titles, and interests of all persons whatsoever, who had been adjudged innocent, as well such as were Protestants as papists,* should be thereby concluded and barred for ever*, other than such rights and titles as should be reserved in the letters-patent, and such rights as are the proper act of the party, to whom such letters-patent shall be granted, or of those under whom he claims as heir, executor or administrator, and other than such debts, leases or payments, whereunto the same are by the said act made liable. It is also provided that the said lands, &c. in the said letters-patent contained, should be by the said acts confirmed, according to the several estates

* This apparent impartiality was a mere delusion; for no Protestant was required to establish his qualifications of innocency, as appears from the king's declaration and instructions quoted in a preceding page.

thereby granted against the king, and all other persons or bodies political or corporate. And finally that all adventurers and soldiers, their heirs and assigns, should have and enjoy an estate of inheritance in fee-simple, in such lands as should be certified to belong to them, unless some lesser estate should be therein expressly limited; and that in case such lesser estate should be so limited, the party should be reprised out of other lands, so as to make up his other two-third parts, by the said acts intended to him, equal in worth and value to others who should have estates in fee-simple certified and granted to them.

Such were the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, whose importance was not overrated by Sir Audley Mervyn, when he called them the "Magna Charta of Irish Protestants." But what were they to the Catholics? What to the Irish nation? At least two-thirds of the land in the entire country changed masters. The new proprietors felt conscious that their claims were not founded in strict justice, and were tormented with a sense of insecurity; they looked upon the native Irish as their natural enemies, and dreaded every hour some new attempt for the recovery of the forfeited estates. This dread of recumption existed within our own memory; and the probability that opening political power to the Catholics would lead to a claim for the restoration of property, was by no means a weak argument against the concession of Catholic emancipation. That these acts had no foundation in justice is evident. That they were inconsistent with sound policy is almost equally clear: they caused Ireland to retrograde in every thing that gives a nation value: they made her a drain on the wealth of England, when, from her natural resources, she might have become a source of additional wealth and security: they spread through the country a feeling that the English are the inveterate enemies of Ireland, which,

though it never was perfectly just, and has long since lost even the semblance of justice, is not yet totally eradicated. It is difficult to make atonement for national injuries deep and long continued. The evil extends over the entire surface of society: the good will only be felt, or at least appreciated, by a few individuals.

The guilt of the Stuarts in thus abandoning to ruin innocent men to whom they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude, did not go unpunished. James II. suffered for the crimes of his brother, as well as for his own follies. If the Cromwellian party in Ireland had sunk into the same obscurity as their brethren in England, there would probably have been no resistance to the despotism of the Stuarts: James might have kept his throne, and England lost its constitution. But the wise dispensations of Providence in this instance, as in countless others, produced universal good from partial evil. The reformed religion and the civil liberties of Europe depended then on the preservation of freedom in England; and, but for the strong support that the English patriots possessed in the Cromwellian settlement, they probably would have failed in the contest. Ireland alone paid the price by which European liberties were purchased, though she reaped little advantage from their blessings.

The conduct of the Duke of Ormond in these transactions has been the theme of unmeasured praise, and equally unmeasured censure. Yet is there no point of fact at issue between his advocates and his opponents. If for the sake of establishing a Protestant interest in Ireland, it was lawful, and even praiseworthy, to commit treachery, fraud, and universal robbery, then may we join in all the eulogiums that have been heaped upon him; but if the best end cannot sanctify the worst means, if Mammon and Moloch be unworthy allies to the cause of pure religion, then must we condemn him as one

who sacrificed upright principle to questionable policy, and was guilty of atrocious evil to effect a doubtful good. The most instructive commentary on his conduct is the simple fact, that before the civil war his estates only yielded him about 7000*l.* per annum; but after the final settlement, his annual income was upwards of 80,000*l.* more than ten times the former amount. He felt to the last hour of his life a lurking consciousness that the part he had acted would not bear a close examination; and writhed under the attacks made on him in pamphlets by the men he had betrayed and undone. One of these, named "The Unkind Deserter," is distinguished by its superior ability and deep pathos. There are few who could read the simple and touching details of the writer's statements, without pity for the deserted, and indignation against the deserter. Ormond attempted no reply; he suppressed the book, and threw the printer into prison; but he was afraid to give the matter additional publicity, by bringing the question into a court of justice.

There was a time when it would have been neither safe nor prudent to detail the facts recorded in this chapter; but that time is now past for ever. The Roman Catholics are now as much interested in supporting the Cromwellian settlement as the Protestants. The vicissitudes of property, especially within the last thirty years, have brought into their hands an immense share of the lands which their ancestors forfeited; and time has effaced the lineage of the ancient proprietors. There is no longer any prudential motive for concealing the truth; and it has been therefore told as amply as our limits would permit, and yet not without some feelings of reluctance; for the writer, being himself descended from Cromwellian settlers, would gladly have given a more favourable account of their proceedings, if he could have done so with truth.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reign of Charles II.

A. D. 1660.—The restoration of Charles II. produced none of the advantages which the English nation had fondly anticipated, and the prospect of which had induced them to hail that event with such rapturous joy. Many of the puritans were driven by persecution to seek an asylum in Holland and the American plantations. The clergy of the established church had not unlearned the intolerance which had so large a share in causing the late civil war; and their violence drove into exile the most valuable, because the most industrious, classes of the community. The strength of the puritans lay in the middle ranks—the comfortable farmers, the merchants, and the opulent tradesmen. On the side of the establishment were ranged the highest and lowest classes, supported by the entire strength of government. The alliance between the church and state, in the reigns of the second Charles and James, rested on neither principle nor affection, for both sovereigns were, in the worst sense of the word, papists. It was a mutual compact for purposes not very honourable to either. The clergy supported despotism and arbitrary power, by preaching the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and obtained from the state in return the power of oppressing the dissenters by acts of uniformity. The loss of industrious artisans was further aggravated by the diminution of foreign trade, consequent on the war with Holland, and the subserviency of the English court to France. To these causes of national distress must be added the effects of the plague, and the dissipation of the national finances by a profligate mon-

arch and his demoralized courtiers. The attention of the English House of Commons was called to the alarming fall of rents; and all the scientific ingenuity of the period was employed to account for this depreciation. The solution, though in its effects productive of deplorable mischief, was so perfectly ludicrous, that it is scarce possible to believe the authors of it serious. The philosophic economists of the day averred that the sole cause of English distress was the importation of lean cattle from Ireland! This profound exposition was received with universal applause. The English nation, with one accord, denounced Irish cattle as the cause of all their miseries. Petitions to prevent the introduction of the obnoxious animals were presented in countless numbers to the king and parliament; and at length a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, then sitting at Oxford, for prohibiting perpetually the importation of Irish cattle, dead or alive, fat or lean, great or small.

The long civil war, the voluntary exile of the gentry, who had taken with them all their moveable property, and the prohibition of all foreign trade which England inflicted on her dependent provinces, had reduced Ireland to a most miserable condition. She had no commerce, no manufactures; cattle and wool were her only exports; and the exclusion of the former from the only market open to the Irish threatened absolute ruin. Some of the wisest English statesmen, and especially Sir Heneage Finch, attempted to expose the delusion; but only increased the national insanity. Lord Castlehaven opposed the bill with all his might in the upper House; and Sir William Petty, one of the few who acquired an estate in Ireland by honourable means, made an able speech against it before a committee of the Commons. By these exertions, the report was delayed, and the session terminated by a prorogation. The dreadful fire of London for a short time distracted

public attention; but the dispute about Irish cattle survived the flames, and even derived additional strength from the conflagration. When the news of the calamity reached Ireland, the Irish determined to raise a contribution for the relief of the sufferers; and as they had neither silver nor gold, they generously sent them a present of cattle. The vision of Pharaoh's lean kine was not interpreted to portend a more fearful visitation than this ill-starred donation. It was industriously represented as an attempt to evade the prohibition under the pretext of benevolence, and a universal clamour was raised through the kingdom.

The infamous party known by the name of the Cabal, from the initials of the leaders, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, were foremost in maintaining the popular excitement. Their object was to remove Clarendon from the office of chancellor, and Ormond from the government of Ireland, because they deemed these noblemen impediments to the scheme of power which they meditated; and to effect their purpose, there were no means, however iniquitous, which they would not readily have adopted. The king had the good sense to see that there was not the slightest connexion between the public distress and Irish cows. He was also unwilling to injure a nation wantonly and unprofitably; and he not only declared himself opposed to the bill, but passionately asserted that it should never receive his assent. The Commons cared little for the royal inclinations; the unjust war which Charles had undertaken against the Dutch had completely exhausted the exchequer, and placed the king at the mercy of the parliament. A bill, declaring in its preamble that the importation of Irish cattle was *a nuisance*, passed the lower House with wondrous unanimity, and was sent up to the Lords. Their lordships, instead of "*a nuisance*," introduced the words "a detriment and mischief."

The Commons refused to concur in the amendment; and an angry conference, in which neither party seemed disposed to recede, took place on this important topic. The debates in the Lords were conducted with disgraceful heat and violence, but at the same time with such a ludicrous perversion of words and ideas, that it is difficult to conceive why the contest did not terminate in general roars of laughter. Arlington insisted that the importation of Irish cattle should be declared "a nuisance." Lord Ashley, with affected moderation, proposed that it should be called only "a premunire, or a felony." Clarendon, with more wit, and as much reason, suggested as an amendment, that it should be deemed "adultery." The Duke of Buckingham declared, that "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings." The gallant Ossory, Ormond's eldest son, a young nobleman of talent, virtue, and spirit, was roused by this national insult, and sent a challenge to the duke. But Buckingham dreaded Irish courage as much as he affected to despise Irish understandings; he declined to accept the challenge, but made his complaint to the House, and Ossory was sent to the Tower. Ashley declaimed with malignant violence against the Irish subscription, and all by whom it had been promoted. Ossory retorted, "that such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's counsellors." At length the king, finding that if the resistance was protracted, the Commons would refuse the supplies, requested his friends to give up any further opposition, and the bill, with the "nuisance" clause, was finally passed. In giving his assent, however, Charles complained bitterly of the harsh treatment he had experienced; and to compensate the Irish for the loss of their trade, he issued a proclamation, permitting them "to hold commercial intercourse with every country, whether at peace or war with his majesty."

Ormond zealously exerted himself to avert the

evils which the cruel jealousy of England threatened to inflict on the country that he governed. He determined to establish manufactures in Ireland; and for this purpose invited over the most skilful artificers from Brabant and Flanders, whom he planted on his own estates at Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir, and at Chapelizod in the county of Dublin. He procured an act of parliament for the encouragement of the linen-manufacture; and successfully laboured to improve the cultivation of flax. But he was stopped in the midst of his career by the intrigues of his enemies in England, aided by some Irish nobles who were jealous of his power. Of these the most formidable was the Earl of Orrery, who, under the title of Lord Broghill, has already filled a considerable space in this history. His intrigues, though conducted with great secrecy, became known to Ormond; and when Orrery departed for England, the duke, having appointed his son Ossory his deputy, followed him thither, in order to watch and counteract his machinations. The Cabal was too powerful to be resisted. Arlington waited on Ormond, and informed him that his majesty had determined to remove him from the office of lord-lieutenant, which was given to Lord Robarts. The new chief governor was not permitted to rule long. He dissatisfied every party, and displayed so much stubbornness and incapacity that he was removed; and Lord Berkeley, of Stratton, a creature of Buckingham's, appointed his successor.

Some time before these changes, a schism took place among the Irish Catholics, respecting the measure of obedience due to a temporal sovereign. Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, had been employed by his clerical brethren to draw up a remonstrance to the king against the severity shown to the Catholic priesthood; and in performing this task, he disavowed the temporal authority of the pope in the strongest terms, and zealously supported the Anglican

doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. The papal internuncio at Brussels condemned the doctrines in the remonstrance as schismatic, and inconsistent with the obedience due to the apostolic see. The Jesuits censured them, as contrary to the dogmas maintained by the fathers of the church; and a majority of the Irish prelates concurred in these censures. Two parties were at once formed—the Remonstrants and the Anti-remonstrants. Like the Vetoists and Anti-vetoists in our own age, they wasted in these idle discussions the time and the talents which, judiciously exerted, might have greatly improved their political condition. The leaders of the ascendency in Ireland were by no means sorry to see the objects of their jealousy and fear lavishing their energies in these idle discussions. They naturally and justly showed favour to the Remonstrants, and as naturally exposed them thereby to the suspicions of the entire Catholic community.

Lord Berkeley's administration filled the Protestants with alarms which were not altogether groundless. He permitted the Catholic prelates to exercise their functions in public; he granted commissions of the peace to several of the Catholic gentry; and admitted some individuals of that persuasion into corporations. Complaints were made, both in England and Ireland, that government was indisposed to maintain "the Protestant ascendency," as the monopoly of power, place, and profit enjoyed by the dominant religion was called. Tales of conspiracies, plots, and threatened massacres were revived and eagerly spread by those who were so deeply interested in exaggerating the dangers of popery. The crosses which the lower orders of the Catholics affix to their doors on Corpus Christi Day were said to be placed there as marks for the destroyers to pass by; and these symbols, raised by superstition to scare witches and malignant demons, were asserted

to have been the invention of treason to avert massacre. But the Cromwellians had soon greater cause for alarm. The Catholics, through Talbot, complained of several gross frauds that had been practised on persons of their religion in the matter of reprisals, and obtained from the king commissioners of inquiry, "to search out and represent the defects of papers or warrants for justifying any clauses contrary to the king's declaration, the first ground of settlement." The Cromwellians acted with their usual promptitude and vigour; they appealed to the people of England against the designs of the court; and the appeal was answered by people and parliament, with a force which Charles was unable to resist. Lord Berkeley was removed from the government of Ireland, and the commission of inquiry was superseded.

The brief administration of Essex produced nothing remarkable. He was a nobleman of strict integrity, and some talent; but he wanted energy of character, and could not understand the anomalous condition of Ireland. He found numberless difficulties in executing the act of settlement; and in his letters declared that he could compare the distribution of lands "to nothing better than flinging the reward, upon the death of the deer, among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself." Essex became weary of so distracted a country; and, disgusted with the difficulties to which he was exposed by the duplicity of the king and the rapacity of the courtiers, he solicited leave to resign, and was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond. This unexpected appointment gave rise to much speculation; for Ormond had been long under a cloud, and had been treated with mortifying coldness ever since his removal from office. But in truth the king had no choice; for Ormond was the only man alive who thoroughly understood the state of parties in Ireland, and had sufficient in-

fluence with the leaders of all to restrain their excesses.

Ormond had not long returned to the government when he was astounded by receiving from England intelligence of the discovery of an alarming plot. The lord-lieutenant had too much experience in the manufacture of plots himself, not to discover at once the nature of the pretended discoveries made by Tongue and Oates; but he knew also the danger of discrediting popular delusion, and he pretended an alarm which he did not feel. It is impossible to discover the real authors of that iniquity and absurdity called *the Popish Plot.* If, as there is reason to suppose, it was originally contrived by Shaftesbury* and his party, we must not conclude that they either expected or wished for the disgraceful scenes that followed. They could not have anticipated the monstrous credulity that swallowed the tales told by Oates, Bedloe, Dangerfield, and the other herd of informers, full of inconsistencies, improbabilities, contradictions, and even physical impossibilities. Every Englishman must wish that the pages recording these scenes of national injustice, insanity, and disgrace could be blotted for ever from the history of his country; but yet it is well that they should remain, to prove that bigotry, and its attendant, ferocious persecution, have not been monopolized by any single sect or denomination, and that the excesses of "zeal without knowledge" belong not to any particular creed, but are the consequences of ignorance and prejudice, worked upon by the unprincipled and the designing.

The contrivers of the plot saw that its truth would be at once questioned, if all mention of Ireland was omitted; for if such horrors as they described were prepared for England, where the number of the Catholics was inconsiderable, what was to be ex-

* Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. He has been already mentioned in this history under his first title, Lord Ashley.

pected in Ireland, where they formed the great bulk of the population? Unfortunately for the plotters, however, they were unacquainted with the circumstances of Ireland, and proceeding by guess, fell into some outrageous blunders. They averred that the leaders of the threatened Irish insurrection were Peter Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Mountgarret, and Colonel Peppard. Orders were consequently sent over by the English council to have the persons of these dangerous traitors secured. Ormond proceeded to obey these commands. He found Talbot in the last stage of a painful and dangerous disease, and Lord Mountgarret bed-ridden from old age, and arrested them without any difficulty; but Colonel Peppard escaped all researches, for the simple reason that no such person had been ever in existence! Their next guess was equally unhappy. They assured the lord-lieutenant, that a vessel, laden with arms and ammunition for the use of popish rebels, was actually on her way to Waterford. Orders to have the vessel seized and strictly searched were issued. She arrived, and was found to contain nothing but a cargo of salt.

Ormond yielded so far to the clamour of the times, as to issue two proclamations, which by their severity and injustice ought to have satisfied the ardent zeal of the fiercest puritan. He first ordered that the relations of known tories* should be committed to prison, until such tories were killed or brought to justice; and that any parish priest of any place where robbery or murder had been committed by these tories should be committed to prison, and

* The tories were the remains of the armies that had been disbanded after the civil wars had terminated, joined by such of the peasantry as had been driven from their homes, when the lands of Ireland changed masters under the act of settlement. These banditti committed several outrages, but none of such a character as to entitle them to the name of insurgents. They were in fact nothing more than common robbers.

thence transported, unless within fourteen days the guilty persons were killed or taken, or such discovery made as would lead to their apprehension. The second forbade the Catholics to enter the castle of Dublin, or any other fort, without special permission from the authorities; and ordered that fairs and markets should be held outside cities and corporate towns, and that the peasants should attend them unarmed. The English plotters were not satisfied; they recommended Ormond to arrest all the nobility and gentry of Irish name, and to banish the Catholic inhabitants from every city and walled town. The lord-lieutenant clearly understood the meaning of these hints. They wished that the Irish should be goaded into rebellion by severity, and thus at once afford a pretext for new confiscations, and confirm the plot, whose credit was greatly shaken by the continued tranquillity of Ireland. But Ormond, with all his faults, was above practising the arts of the unprincipled Parsons, and, besides, was too proud to be the instrument of others' guilt. He persevered in a course of moderation; and Ireland, to the sore annoyance of the zealous Protestant leaders, remained undisturbed even by the semblance of rebellion.

Such conduct exposed Ormond to the dangerous imputation of being "a stifler of the plot,"—a character at that time deemed almost, if not altogether, as wicked as that of an active conspirator. The conduct of the lord-lieutenant was consequently severely censured in many of the violent pamphlets with which the English press teemed at the time; and Shaftesbury ventured to repeat these insinuations in the House of Lords. The defence made for his father by the gallant Ossory covered the Cabal with confusion. Of Shaftesbury's character, which was not well calculated to bear a rigid examination, he made such an exposure as effectually deterred him from all similar attacks for the future. But an Irish victim was necessary to the contrivers of the

plot; and their choice fell on Oliver Plunket, the titular Archbishop of Armagh. This unfortunate prelate had been conspicuous for his attachment to the government, and had actually been exposed to the suspicions of his brethren for attempting to restrain their violence in the disputes about the remonstrance. He was dragged over to England as a prisoner, and brought to trial for a crime alleged to have been committed in Ireland. Connor Lord M'Guire had been tried in the same way, for participating in the conspiracy of 1641, and had been refused the privilege of trial by his peers: though he was undoubtedly guilty, the illegality of bringing him before a foreign tribunal is not the less glaring. The grand jury, on the first occasion, threw out the bill against Plunket; but the informers gained fresh accomplices, and succeeded better in a second attack. The accused was refused time to bring witnesses from Ireland; and his defence was confined to pointing out the inconsistencies and improbabilities of the evidence against him, which were indeed sufficiently glaring. In those evil days innocence was but a frail defence. Plunket was found guilty, and executed. In his last moments he protested his innocence in the most solemn manner, disavowing all equivocation, and pertinently adding, that if he acknowledged the truth of what had been laid to his charge, no human being acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland could attach the least credit even to his dying confession. The House of Commons endeavoured to avert the effect produced by this declaration, and voted that there was a plot in Ireland; but as they were unable to adduce any evidence of its existence, they only accelerated the recovery of the people from their delusion.

A. D. 1681.—The tide of popular phrensy began soon to turn; the fury against the papists had passed away, exhausted even by its own violence; the dying declarations of innocence made by all the victims began at length to produce a salutary effect; and

when the venerable Earl of Stafford, the last that fell a sacrifice to the popular delusion, declared on the scaffold his utter ignorance of the plot, the multitude responded with tears, "We believe you, my lord!" The rejection of the "Exclusion Bill" by the Lords, notwithstanding Shaftesbury's vigorous exertions, completed the ruin of the Cabal. They stimulated the House of Commons to fresh violence; but Charles no longer regarded their anger when he saw them deserted by the people, and put an end to their power by dissolving the parliament.

The consequences of this revulsion are full of instruction. The whole herd of spies and informers turned on their employers; and the king was enabled to pursue his designs of establishing popery and arbitrary power by the very instruments which his antagonists had provided. The best and brightest of England's patriots, Russell and Sidney, perished on a scaffold by the same abominable arts which their party had used for the destruction of others. Shaftesbury, the great patron of the popish plot, died in misery and exile, unhonoured, unpitied, and unlamented. The state of the Irish Protestants during the remainder of this dishonourable reign was full of doubt and uncertainty; they suspected that Charles meditated the subversion of the act of settlement, and the restoration of the Irish Catholics to property and power. Their hearts sank within them: they were no longer the compact, warlike body which had been able to dictate its own terms at the Restoration. The fire of enthusiasm was extinct. Age had broken down the strength of the ancient warriors; or they had been removed, and their places filled by young men who had not been trained and hardened in the stern school of poverty. Ormond readily offered his aid to establish despotism in the British dominions, and professed the most abject devotion to the royal will; but as he was personally interested in maintaining the act of settlement, it

was determined to remove him from the government. Though now far advanced in the decline of life, and deprived of his gallant son Ossory, the aged nobleman clung to place and power with all his former tenacity. But his compliances were in vain. He received a letter from the king, declaring that "he found it absolutely necessary for his service to make many and very general changes in Ireland; and that for this purpose it was necessary to remove Ormond from the government, and transfer his power to the Earl of Rochester." Before these contemplated changes could be effected Charles died; and the accession of his brother James II. opened a new scene sufficiently important to merit a separate consideration. It is now unnecessary to draw the character of Charles, for all writers of late years have united in his condemnation. The effects of his reign on the state and fortunes of Ireland need not be recapitulated: they are sufficiently evident in the subsequent history of the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reign of James II.

A. D. 1684.—When James II. ascended the throne, political profligacy had reached a height in England which can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any age or nation. The monarch and his courtiers were the pensioned slaves of Louis XIV., and the patriots of the opposition were bribed by French gold. Louis dreaded the opposition of England to the plan of universal empire which he had formed, and it was his object to keep the country weak by perpetual distractions. If the monarch be-

came absolute, he would cease to be a dependant on foreign bounty, and the advocates of freedom were consequently bribed to do their duty. If the constitution was permanently established, England would resume her fit station as protectress of the liberties of Europe; and the king was therefore paid for preventing a parliament from being assembled. The Dutch, threatened with destruction by the ambitious Louis, looked to England for aid and protection; but, aware of the general corruption, distributed large sums both to placemen and patriots. Thus, there were many sold at the same time both to France and Holland, who, to do them justice, dealt out impartial treachery to both. In such general corruption, it would have been difficult for the new king to have found a faithful friend and an honest adviser; but James was equally incapable of feeling or inspiring friendship, and of profiting by judicious advice. Proud, narrow-minded, bigoted, and obstinate, he rushed on, reckless of consequences, to effect designs which required the utmost coolness and caution. His very virtues were among the chief causes of his ruin; for had he been as capable of dissimulation as his father or brother, he might have wielded a despotic sceptre, not merely with the tacit approbation, but with the active assistance of the party that took the lead in hurling him from the throne. The clergy of the established church, with good reason, dreaded the dissenters as much, if not more than the Catholics. They were loud in proclaiming the slavish doctrine of unconditional obedience to the mandates of the sovereign; and their address on the accession of James could not be exceeded in servility by that of the meanest slaves that ever grovelled at the feet of an Eastern despot.

Nor was James at his accession unpopular with the great body of his English subjects. He had served in the navy during his brother's reign, and obtained some celebrity for skill and courage, which

probably he may have merited. The love of the naval service, which has been ever a strong passion in English bosoms, made them hail a sailor-king, in spite of his religion, with pride and pleasure. Some few leaders of the whigs, who had so strenuously laboured for the "Bill of Exclusion," maintained a jealous silence, and watched his proceedings with suspicion; but, in the general applause of the nation, their conduct was not noticed, or, if noticed, was disregarded.

But the condition of the Protestants of Ireland made them view the accession of a Roman Catholic sovereign with very different feelings. The dangers to be dreaded from popery formed the chief title to their estates, for it furnished the only semblance of justification for the extensive confiscations which the act of settlement had sanctioned; but they clearly saw that such a plea could scarcely be urged to a sovereign who himself was a professor of that religion. The Irish Catholics were filled with joy, which they did not attempt to conceal, and took a mischievous pleasure in observing the bad grace with which their enemies the Cromwellians uttered the most extravagant professions of loyalty to a monarch whom they very heartily detested. Both parties, by a very natural mistake, gave James more credit than he deserved. Like all the Stuarts, he was determined to maintain what he chose to call "the English interest in Ireland;" and even though it was identified with "Protestant ascendency," it was with great reluctance that he allowed his zeal for his religion to conquer his attachment to this principle of hereditary policy.

Ormond was removed from his post of lord-lieutenant, and bore the deprivation very badly. He was succeeded by two lords-justices, Boyle the primate and chancellor, and Forbes, Earl of Granard. This appointment, which was designed to conciliate both classes of Protestants, the churchmen and the

dissenters, gave mutual dissatisfaction to both: the puritans alleged that Boyle's Protestantism differed very little from popery, and in truth they were not much mistaken: the churchmen asserted that Granard was a favourer of the sectaries, and a bitter enemy of the establishment. For the latter part of the imputation against the earl there were no grounds whatever; and the only reason for the former was, that Granard had protected the dissenting preachers when the Protestant bishops were about to persecute them, in the same manner as their brethren in England.

The Cromwellians had degenerated from the courage, but not from the prudence, of their ancestors. They refused to have any share in Monmouth's rebellion, not from disinclination to his cause, but from a well-grounded distrust in his firmness and abilities. They even sent congratulations to the king on his having subdued a pretender to his throne. But James was not duped by these professions: he sent an order to the lords-justices to disarm the militia, which consisted chiefly of Protestants, under the pretence that the ramifications of Monmouth's conspiracy extended to Ireland. The suppression of this rebellion was among the chief causes of James's ruin. The cruelties of the inhuman Jeffreys and the brutal Kirke alienated the affections of the people; while the fulsome adulation of the clergy induced the king to believe that no resistance would be made to his future projects. The execution of Monmouth deserves the character which Fouché gave to the murder of the Duc d'Enghein,—"It was worse than a crime, 'twas a blunder." While Monmouth lived, the hopes of the Protestants were divided between him and the Prince of Orange; but on his death the attention of the public was fixed solely on William, and men began already to speculate on the probable changes that would be made when he ascended the throne.

Talbot, being created Earl of Tyrconnel, eagerly looked for the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; but James could not yet venture on so bold a step, and he intrusted the administration to his brother-in-law the Earl of Clarendon. The army in Ireland was intrusted to Tyrconnel; and he soon began to model it into a form more suited to the royal designs and the interests of his faction. Protestant officers were removed, and their commissions given to Catholics; soldiers that had grown gray in the service were turned off without any compensation, and their places filled by those whom they regarded as their enemies. Though Clarendon was himself a Protestant, he so far yielded to the royal inclinations as to promote Catholics to the bench, and admit them into the privy council; while, at the same time, he studiously discouraged the leaders of the Protestants. The partiality shown by James to persons of his own religion, though meriting censure, was by no means so exclusive as the conduct of Ormond and other Protestant governors had been, for they never employed a Catholic in any official capacity; yet has it been more severely reprobated: for the Irish Protestants had persuaded themselves and others that they had an exclusive right to power and place. They deemed that something of their own was taken away when a Catholic was appointed to office; and the transfer of political power to this obnoxious sect they looked upon as an act of public robbery. The Cromwellians would have regarded an impartial government that selected its officers for merits, unconnected with their descent and religious opinions, as a grievance. They were consequently roused to the highest pitch of indignation when they saw themselves excluded from all public employments.

They were alarmed for the security of their estates, and lived in constant dread of some change being made in the acts of settlement and explanation.

The old proprietors openly expressed their hopes of obtaining justice from a prince of their own religion; and the English press teemed with pamphlets attacking and defending the cause of the settlers. "The Coventry Letter," written by Sir Richard Nagle, an Irish barrister of eminence, was the most powerful pamphlet that appeared in the entire controversy. It attacked the act of settlement with uncommon vigour; and at this day the most bigoted partisan must confess that its arguments are unanswerable. An anonymous reply, entitled, "The State of Ireland, with a Vindication of the Act of Settlement," deserves also to be rescued from the oblivion to which such productions are usually consigned. It meets all the arguments of Nagle with great ingenuity; and it is honourably distinguished by a spirit of candour which no other production on the same side has exhibited.* A brief abstract from this pamphlet will enable the reader to form some judgment of the state of the question at issue between the Cromwellians and the ancient Irish proprietors. The writer begins by declaring that he had a personal interest in the maintenance of the act of settlement, and that one principal cause of his writing was, to inform his heirs by what title they should hold their property. Proceeding to the subject, he candidly acknowledges his doubts whether the civil war of 1641 could properly be called "a rebellion;" but adds, that he is *forced* to consider it as such. He then assigns his reasons for considering this arming a rebellion; and though they are not very conclusive, they are at least ingenious. He quotes the preambles of several acts of the English parliament, in which the arming of the confederates is declared to be a rebellion; and then gravely proves that an act of parliament is the highest authority in the

* A more extensive analysis of this celebrated pamphlet is given in O'Driscol's History of Ireland; but the work itself deserves an attentive perusal, and ought to have a place in every Irish historical library.

realm. Anticipating the obvious answer, that the English parliament was at this very time preparing to wage war on the king, he adds, that the confederates made two treaties of peace with the sovereign; but there could be no necessity of a treaty unless the parties were at war; and if the Irish were at war with their king, it necessarily followed that they were "rebels." The latter part of this reasoning unfortunately applied more forcibly to the Cromwellians than the Irish; for the latter had always shown a personal regard for the king, while the former had persecuted him to death. The author, however, escapes from all consideration of this difficulty, and winds up this part of his case by declaring that the Irish had rebelled against the supremacy of England!

The treaties which the king had concluded with the confederates presented a new difficulty, which seems to have given the author no little trouble; for his defence on this subject is inconsistent. He says, that some of the Irish violated the articles of peace, and therefore, by their own act, excluded themselves from its benefit; but as this only applied to the nuncio's party, which contained a very small portion of the Irish nobility and gentry, he finally asserts that these treaties were, *ab initio*, null and void, for the strange reason that they contain several articles which it was unreasonable for subjects to impose upon their sovereign.

The chief of what he considers unreasonable articles is, the claim of independence for the Irish legislature. The author strongly urges the right of the English parliament to make laws that should bind Ireland, and vigorously defends the policy and propriety of Poynings's law. These were, of course, the sentiments of the Cromwellians at the time. Their chief recommendation to the favour and protection of the English nation was their professed design of keeping Ireland a dependent province. Nor were

they singular in their attachment to such wretched policy. The miserable James, after he had lost the crown of England, clung to Poynings's law with his characteristic obstinacy, and positively refused to sanction the independence of the Irish parliament. It was not until after the lapse of a century that the Cromwellians adopted contrary opinions. When, to use the forcible language of the Irish peasantry, "their hearts had warmed to the soil," they resolved to raise Ireland to the rank of a nation; and, by their successful struggle in 1782, nobly vindicated the character of the confederates in 1648.

A much more cogent argument urged by the writer of this pamphlet is, the length of time that the Cromwellians had been in possession, and the various contracts and bargains that had been made on the faith of the act of settlement. He confesses that many frauds had been committed in the distribution of reprisals; but he plausibly argues, that it would be better for all parties to submit to such injustice than expose the country to the insecurity and distractions consequent on a new revolution in property.

But the continuance of this discussion produced this feeling of insecurity to an alarming extent. Many of the Irish Protestants quitted their estates through dread of some approaching convulsion, and became mendicant exiles in England and Holland. To complete their terror, they received information that Clarendon was recalled, and their great enemy Tyrconnel appointed lord-lieutenant. Richard Talbot Earl of Tyrconnel was but a child when the war of the confederates broke out. He was in Drogheda when that town was stormed by Cromwell, and the inhuman massacre perpetrated. This event made a deep impression on his youthful mind, and inspired him with a horror of the puritans which he took little pains to conceal. When Ireland was subdued by the Cromwellians, he retired to the

Continent, entered into the service of Charles, and adhered to him with undeviating fidelity during the entire period of his adversity. He is said to have proposed the assassination of Cromwell, and at another time to have attempted the life of Ormond; but these are the calumnies of his enemies. He was fierce and violent, but he was incapable of baseness or treachery. Tyrconnel professed the Roman Catholic religion; but it was only a profession; for he had been infected by the infidelity fashionable in the court of the second Charles. He did not even affect religious zeal, for he was too proud to be a hypocrite; but regarded all religious differences as important only in their connexion with political factions. His temper was violent, his manners coarse, his private conduct rather profligate, and his conversation too often indecent and profane. He owed his appointment, in a great measure, to French influence; and on several occasions acted as the lieutenant of Louis rather than of James.

The day of Clarendon's departure displayed a scene of unparalleled consternation in Dublin. Not less than fifteen hundred Protestant families abandoned their homes and occupations, and embarked with the retiring governor for England. Some of these were influenced by imaginary terrors: they saw popery, the object of their abhorrence, triumphant, and expected to behold all the fearful visions of the Apocalypse realized. Others thought that it would be sinful to continue in a land which had now become "the kingdom of the beast;" and not a few more rationally dreaded, that the injuries which they had themselves inflicted upon the Irish would soon be fearfully retaliated. The general alarm was not diminished by the new judicial appointments. Fitton, a recent convert to the royal religion, was appointed chancellor, though by no means fit for the situation; Nugent obtained one chief-justiceship, and Rice the other; Sir Richard Nagle was appointed attorney-

general; and, finally, only three Protestants remained on the bench. This partiality was scandalous; but it is perfectly ridiculous to find those who imitated and exceeded it, the loudest in its condemnation. The system of exclusion was carried to an excess by the Protestants which their antagonists never equalled; nor, at the moment of their greatest power, do we find any one proposing to establish a Catholic ascendency in Ireland. But the Protestant historians, who so loudly and so justly reprobate the placing a majority of Catholic judges on the bench, seem never to have thought that the same censures might as justly be applied to a bench exclusively Protestant. The proceedings with regard to corporations were more flagrantly iniquitous; they were forced into a surrender of their charters; and a new arrangement was made, which provided that these bodies should consist, for the future, of two-thirds Catholics, and one-third Protestants. It is no excuse for this illegal violence that the Protestants, in the day of their power, had acted worse, and excluded the Catholics altogether. This is perfectly true; but to remedy one unjust act by another precisely similar is, in effect, to give a sanction to the former.

The expatriated Protestants who did not enter into the service of Holland became pensioners on the bounty of the English people, who soon became tired of supporting them, especially as their charity was abused by many idle knaves, who claimed support by false tales of persecution. The exiles appealed to the press; and it is mortifying to compare their humble and querulous tone with the proud and stern remonstrances of their fathers the "levellers." To counteract the effect of these statements, Tyrconnel published anonymously a "Vindication of the Irish Government," which is really a well-written and not very partial statement. It is true, that, at the close, he takes an opportunity of

paying himself some very high compliments, which were not very well merited; but he effectually vindicates himself from the charges of tyranny and oppression.

The long-expected contest on the act of settlement came at length, and brought to the Protestants as much dismay as if it had never been anticipated. An Irish parliament was assembled, in which, from the late changes made in corporations, the ruling party had an overwhelming majority. Heads of a bill were framed for "indemnifying those Catholics who had been declared innocent by the court of claims, and providing that a new commission should issue for the hearing of such claims as had not been hitherto heard for want of time or other cause, without fault of the parties." This was certainly nothing more than what strict justice demanded; but strict justice, when applied to remedy monstrous wrongs, is often perilous. In the present instance, it would have caused two-thirds of the lands of Ireland to have changed masters. The Irish appointed Rice as their agent to manage their cause before the English privy council; but, by the fatality which seems to have reigned over all their proceedings, they neutralized the efforts of this able and upright man, by permitting Nugent to become his associate. The English council had overcome its dread of popery: but the horror of Irishmen still reigned in their bosoms. They only wanted a pretext to reject the bill, and such they found in the stupid insolence of Nugent. The arguments of Chief-baron Rice were heard with all the attention which his abilities, his station, and his high character demanded. He left the council in a predicament not very uncommon. They had predetermined a contrary conclusion, but were unable to resist his premises. Nugent's folly relieved them from their embarrassment, and the bill was rejected. The populace, excited by the Cromwellians and their friends, probably precipitated this decision. The

Irish deputies were hooted whenever they appeared in the streets. Potatoes on the top of poles were carried before them, amid loud exclamations of "Room for the Irish ambassadors!" and this excitement was so great and general, that the king, though disposed to support their cause, was deterred from making any manifestation in their favour.*

Hitherto James had been supported in all his arbitrary acts by the powerful party, then named the high-church, and subsequently called the tories. The murder of Sidney, the expulsion of Locke, even the savage cruelties of Jeffreys had met with more than their tacit approbation. They went so far as to disturb the dying moments of the unfortunate Monmouth, by eager solicitations, mingled with threats of Divine vengeance, in order to force from him an assent to the slavish doctrine of non-resistance. Unfortunately for himself, James gave credit to these professions of outrageous loyalty; and found that, when the royal wishes ran counter to the interests or prejudices of these ultra-royalists, they were far more dangerous opponents than those who made resistance a part of their creed. The church, as a political body, clearly misled the king. According to the principles it inculcated, resistance to Nero or Domitian would have been just as wicked as rebellion against a Trajan or Antonine. The University of Oxford, in solemn convocation, denounced as "heretical and blasphemous,"† every principle on

* Sunderland, in his Apology, claims the merit of having disappointed the Irish, and asserts that he refused a bribe of forty thousand pounds which had been offered to purchase his support. Nobody acquainted with Sunderland's character can credit his narrative. If he refused the money, it must have been because a larger sum was offered on the other side; though it is much more probable that he would have taken the money from both, and kept his promise to neither.

† The House of Lords, in the reign of Queen Anne, ordered this profession of faith to be burned by the common hangman, and thereby gave it a notoriety which it little merited. In truth, it is a production so inconceivably absurd that it must have done injury to the cause it was designed to serve.

which any government short of despotism could be established. We cannot, therefore, accuse James of absolute folly in affording these learned doctors and prelates an opportunity of practising their own precepts; though a monarch of more discernment might have foreseen that such extravagant doctrines could only be maintained when they coincided with the personal interest of their supporters. The attempt of James to disturb the peaceful repose of the universities in England and Ireland was his most fatal error. The account of the attack on the former has been often told; our business is with the latter, which has not been honoured with an equal share of the public attention.

The first step taken by James in his war on the University of Dublin proved that he gave that learned body more credit for common sense than it merited. He nominated a Roman Catholic to be professor of the Irish language, and was astounded to hear that no such professorship existed in that venerable institution. Doctor Leland rates James very severely for having committed such a blunder; but truly, the blunder belongs not to him alone. He could scarcely have credited the existence of such a practical jest, as an institution whose professed design was to instruct the Irish in the doctrines of the reformed religion, which yet left the teachers wholly ignorant of the language of those whom they had to instruct. Compared with this, the folly of Goldsmith's attempting to teach English in Holland, without having first learned Dutch, sinks into insignificance.

The heads of the college were justly alarmed by these proceedings; they determined to convert their plate into ready money, to save it from being seized by the government. Tyrconnel, informed of the transaction, declared that the provost and fellows had no right to dispose of public property. He ordered the purchaser to be prosecuted as a receiver

of stolen goods, and the plate to be deposited in the king's stores. Nagle was disgusted with this violence, and successfully exerted himself to procure the restitution of the plate to the college; which was granted, on an understanding that it should not be sold. The terror occasioned by this proceeding had not subsided, when a letter was received from the king, ordering that a person named Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, without taking any other than the ordinary oath of a fellow. In this instance, again, the college was saved by the ignorance of the patrons. The oath of a fellow imbodies in it the oath of supremacy, which Doyle refused to take. As the king's letter was peremptory, nothing could be done until a second mandate was procured; and before that could be procured, Doyle's incapacity became so notorious that his patrons resigned the contest.

The birth of a Prince of Wales seemed to promise permanency and security to the Stuart dynasty, but in reality precipitated its downfall. The Prince of Orange had remained quiet while there was a chance of his succession to the throne by the ordinary course of nature; but when an heir possessing a superior claim appeared, he saw his fairest prospects blighted, and his proudest hopes destroyed. The whigs, with whom remained the last relics of public spirit in England, saw that their expectations of a change of system must be frustrated, if the young prince were to ascend the throne of his father; and, with more cunning than honesty, asserted that the infant was supposititious. In no case was the truth of the aphorism, "Men easily credit what they wish to believe," better exemplified than in the present instance. A story monstrously absurd and inconsistent with possibility and with itself, was told of a child being brought into the queen's bed in a warming-pan, and presented by her to the court as the royal offspring! It is very disgraceful to the mem-

ory of Bishop Burnett that he sanctioned this calumny, and supported it by the weight of his authority, though he must have been fully convinced of its falsehood; nor can political expediency excuse the Prince of Orange for joining in the stigma affixed to this unfortunate child. In Ireland, the exultation of the Catholics was boundless; nor was it checked by any feelings of doubt, for the tale of the warming-pan had not yet crossed the Channel. But the Irish Protestants, and the remains of the old puritanical factions in England and Scotland, had long before entered into secret and close correspondence with William. The whig aristocracy, unbroken by persecution, and undismayed by power, wanted but an opportunity to renew their struggle for freedom. The remembrance of the fatal termination of Monmouth's insurrection made them cautious; and they felt convinced, that without the aid of the old Cavaliers, who about this time began to be called tories, and the support of the church, that their chances of success would be very problematical. The junction of the whigs and tories was not easy to effect. They detested each other's principles, and extended their animosity to persons; but the union was at length effected by the joint hatred of the principles of toleration entertained by both. Crimes more than sufficient to have justified his expulsion from the throne James had committed in abundance; but these were readily forgiven by the advocates of intolerance and arbitrary power. He was at length unfortunate enough to be guilty of an act of justice and generosity; and this, almost the only instance of public virtue in the whole course of his political existence, precipitated his ruin. James published a declaration of indulgence to all religious sects. He conscientiously believed that his own was the only true religion, and that it would certainly prevail if it received fair play. The errors, if they deserve no harsher name, in this proceeding

were, that the king assumed a power of suspending penal laws without the consent of parliament, and that he ordered this illegal document to be read in the churches. The matter of the declaration was just and laudable; the manner arbitrary and ungracious. Indeed, it seems to have been ever a characteristic of the Stuarts, that their very best actions were neutralized by some unfortunate circumstances arising from their despotic dispositions. The dread of toleration proved more powerful than party-spirit. Whigs and Tories united for the maintenance of persecution; and the Prince of Orange was invited into England by nearly all the leading men of the nation.

The revolution of 1688 is generally and justly considered the brightest epoch of British history; but though the result was glorious, there are few of the circumstances by which it was attended, and still fewer of the actors in it, that do not merit the severest reprobation. After the birth of the Prince of Wales, prayers were offered up for him in the English chapel at the Hague for some months; but were discontinued when William determined to dispute his birth. The king, justly offended at an omission whose design was so glaring, wrote to his daughter Mary, a princess celebrated for her piety, in a tone of indignant remonstrance. The princess, on this occasion, forgot both her piety and duty; she replied, with mean and disgraceful equivocation, "that the prayers had never been *properly* discontinued, but only sometimes forgotten." The great leaders of the English nobility, assembled at the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury, agreed upon sending a requisition to the Prince of Orange, to come over at the head of an army, and pointed out the dangers that would result from delay. These intrigues were discovered by Louis, who sent to warn James of his danger; but the infatuated monarch believed so firmly in the influence of that

"majesty that doth hedge a king," and relied so confidently on the affection and obedience of his daughter, that he rejected these warnings with something like indignation. At length, the publication of the prince's declaration aroused the infatuated monarch from his lethargy, and changed his absurd confidence into still more absurd despair. William landed at Torbay, on the 5th of November, the anniversary of Gunpowder Treason—a coincidence which was of no small advantage. At first, his prospects of success were doubtful, and he began to speak of returning; but the utter incapacity of James became so manifest, that the courtiers saw he was lost, and at once abandoned his cause. Every chance of success was resigned by the wretched monarch without a struggle. There was not a moment, from his first hearing of the invasion to his fatal flight into France, when his affairs might not have been retrieved by the slightest display of spirit and activity; but from the very beginning he sank into utter hopelessness. Those who were around him read the impress of destiny on his forehead, and hastened, by desertion, to secure their own safety.

James was a weak rather than a bad man. His errors arose from his incapacity and defective education. He was utterly unfit for a throne, but might have been honoured in a cloister. His cold and selfish disposition prevented him from ever possessing a friend: his heartless severities had procured him many enemies. Notwithstanding, however, his contemptible character, one can scarcely refrain from dropping a tear of sympathy over the forlorn and deserted condition in which he soon found himself; while the heartless ingratitude shown by those who owed their all to the royal favour excites at once our contempt and indignation. Churchill, whom he had raised from the office of page to a peerage; Lord Cornbury, the son of the Earl of

Clarendon, and nephew of the queen; even his favourite daughter Anne, with her husband Prince George of Denmark, joined in the general defection; and the wretched monarch, in the extremity of his misery, exclaimed, "God help me! even my own children have deserted me!"

What were the real intentions of William when he landed in England, we cannot easily discover. Certainly his principal supporters had no intention of placing him on the throne of his father-in-law; and he could scarcely himself have entertained a hope of such a consummation. But, when circumstances had placed the sceptre almost within his grasp, he hasted to secure it by means more honourable to his character as a politician, than as a man of honour or integrity. The mixture of insidious craft and cruel violence by which James was driven into exile, can neither be excused nor defended, and must ever remain a deep and dark stain on the character of William III.

The Revolution was the work of the English aristocracy. The great body of the people had little or no share in producing it, and gained scarcely any advantages by the event. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, Englishmen are justly proud of the revolution. It freed them from the incubus of a race of sovereigns equally degraded and mischievous. It afforded a bright example to other nations suffering under the pressure of tyranny. It secured the liberties of Europe, then threatened with the iron yoke of France; and it permanently established the principles of Protestantism, which have, though late, attained their full consummation in the triumph of civil and religious freedom.

By the flight of the king, the English tories found themselves placed in a position on which they had never calculated. They were completely at the mercy of the whigs, and forced to act on principles which they had frequently reprobated, and even now

viewed with suspicion, if not detestation. William called a new parliament, and, in the excited state of the nation, the whigs obtained a decided majority in the lower house; but there was reason to believe that the lords were not equally well-disposed to the great change which was about to be made. The resolution of the commons, declaring the throne vacant, was vigorously resisted in the upper house, and was finally carried only by a majority of two voices. The transfer of the crown to William was still more vigorously resisted. Some were anxious for a regency; others resolved to elect Mary queen in her own right; but the Prince of Orange declared, that if either of these plans were adopted, he would return to Holland. This declaration produced the desired effect. After a long and violent debate, it was finally carried by the same majority of two, that William and Mary should be declared joint sovereigns of England; and, on the same evening, they were proclaimed in London and Westminster.

CHAPTER IX.

The War of the Revolution.

A. D. 1689.—The progress of the English revolution was watched in Ireland with the most intense anxiety. The Protestants and Catholics alike felt that their properties, and perhaps their lives, were about to be perilled once again in the doubtful hazard of war; and both seemed depressed by that dejection which men naturally feel at the approach of some indefinite danger over whose direction they have no control. Tyrconnel displayed more energy and prudence at this crisis than his unhappy master.

He amused the Protestants by pretending a wish to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, and at the same time took every means to increase the strength of the Catholic army. On the first rumour of the invasion he had sent some of the best Irish regiments to join the royal armies in England and Scotland, an error which he now bitterly lamented. The imbecility of James rendered the English army worse than useless; and the victories gained by the Scottish royalists under the gallant Dundee were worthless after the death of that commander at Killicrankie. The new levies made by Tyrconnel filled the Protestants with just alarm, which was insidiously increased by the vile arts which the profligate tools of faction have so frequently practised in Ireland. Rumours were spread of an intended general massacre of the Protestants. Anonymous letters, detailing more plausibly than common fame could the time when the work of blood was to commence, were sent to several influential persons; and the most innocent circumstances were tortured by cunning or terror into conclusive proofs of this atrocious design. The consternation that prevailed was terrible. Protestants, wherever they could obtain shipping, hasted to fly the country; and in Dublin a crowd of men, women, and children, rushed to the shore, imploring the sailors to save them from the daggers of the Irish. Tyrconnel was perfectly astounded at this event; and at once foresaw the dangerous consequences by which it was likely to be attended. He sent two lords of the council to tranquillize the fears of this multitude; but terror had taken too strong a hold of their diseased imaginations. As many as could possibly stow themselves on board the ships in the harbours hasted away, leaving their less successful friends on the shore in all the agonies of despair.

In the northern counties, where the Scottish colonies abounded, the Protestants showed more cour

age, and determined to encounter the imaginary danger with arms. Tyrconnel was consequently forced to make instant preparations to check the outbreaking of a civil war. He had some time before withdrawn the garrison from Londonderry; but, being convinced of the great importance of that town, he directed the Earl of Antrim to march thither with his regiment of Highlanders. Several historians have ridiculed the dread which the sight of these forces inspired. They seem to have forgotten the cruelties practised in the west of Scotland by "the Highland host," which Charles and the episcopal clergy had quartered on the inhabitants, as the most efficient means of conquering their repugnance to white surplices and the English liturgy. Many of the Cameronians had fled from this persecution to the north of Ireland, and spread through the entire province a just abhorrence of the barbarities by which they had been driven from their homes. When the Highlanders approached Derry, the inhabitants, terrified at their strange costume and fierce aspect, fled to the town, and alarmed the inhabitants with the news that the expected murderers were close at hand. The town-council assembled; but while they were engaged in deliberation the soldiers approached, and were at the point of entering the town. Nine young men of the populace, urged by a sudden impulse, drew their swords, seized the keys of the city, raised the drawbridge, and closed the gates. The example was contagious;—a resolution to take up arms was instantly adopted; the magazine was seized; and a message sent to the troops, that unless they retired immediately they would be fired upon by the garrison.

The magistrates and the higher rank of citizens had not shared in this enthusiasm, and were alarmed at its consequences. They sent privately a message to Tyrconnel, through Lord Montjoy, stating, with truth, that this insurrectionary movement had been

the work of a tumultuous mob, and declaring their determination to preserve their allegiance to their rightful sovereign. Tyrconnel feigned to believe their excuses; but had the mortification to find that they would only admit a garrison and governor of their own choosing, and with this qualified submission he was forced to be content.

The heroic conduct of the men of Derry excited the emulation of other northern Prostestants. Enniskillen was secured by a similar act of boldness; and various bodies of partisans formed associations under the command of Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and some others, for the maintenance of the Protestant religion and the dependency of Ireland upon England.

Tyrconnel, alarmed by these movements, took some steps to open a negotiation with the Prince of Orange, and found William disposed to grant him the most reasonable terms. The new king was anxious to carry on the war against France—an object infinitely dearer to him than re-establishing the Cromwellian ascendency in Ireland. He therefore offered the Catholics full security of person and property, an equality of civil rights, and the possession of one-third of the churches of the kingdom. Though William was a zealous Protestant, his zeal was not adulterated by any of the intolerance so common in his day. Liberal and enlightened, he was ever averse to disqualifying laws, and yielded to them a very reluctant assent when forced upon him by the violence of the English parliament. Those who have been so long accustomed to claim him as their patron atrociously calumniate his memory. He would have been the first to condemn their principles and punish their excesses. Equal injustice has been done to his memory by those Catholics who ascribe to this great man the sanguinary outrages perpetrated by some of his generals. The unfortunate massacre at Glenco is the only circum-

stance which seems to justify the imputation of cruelty on his character; and in that horrid transaction he was certainly duped by base and artful misrepresentations.

William, having determined to treat with Tyrconnel, treated the deputies of the northern Protestants with great coldness, and their patron the Earl of Clarendon with marked dislike. When he was forced to receive an address from the Irish Protestants, his only answer to their congratulations on his accession and warm professions of attachment was, "I thank you; I will take care of you."

William was unfortunate in the choice of the agent he selected to conduct his treaty with Tyrconnel. The person appointed was Richard Hamilton, who had led a party of troops from Ireland on the first alarm of William's invasion, and was now in some degree regarded as a prisoner. Hamilton had witnessed the long contest which took place between the whig and tory lords with respect to the royal election, and over-estimating at once the influence and the consistency of the latter, believed that nothing but a little exertion was wanting to replace James on his abdicated throne. Instead of persuading Tyrconnel to submit, Hamilton advised him strenuously to maintain Ireland for James, as the other two kingdoms would speedily return to their allegiance.

Tyrconnel was easily persuaded to follow the course to which he had been previously disposed by interest and inclination; yet he still dissembled with the Protestants—told them that he only delayed acknowledging the Prince of Orange until he received an answer from James—and requested them to send a deputy to the fallen monarch, in order to point out to him the necessity of submission. As Tyrconnel has left no manuscript behind him, it is impossible to discover whether he was sincere in this proposal, or meditated a piece of unnecessary treachery; the

event seems to countenance the latter hypothesis. Mountjoy as the delegate of the Irish Protestants, and Rice as the ambassador of the Catholics, waited on James at Paris; but they had scarcely entered on a discussion concerning the state of Ireland when Mountjoy was arrested and sent to the bastile as a traitor, while Rice opened a negotiation with the French king for sending a large body of troops into Ireland to support the cause of James. In the mean time Hamilton had forced the northern Protestants from all their strongholds, except Derry and Enniskillen, which were hourly expected to surrender, as James had partisans in both places.

On the 12th of March, James landed at Kinsale with a small body of French forces, which would have been much larger, had he not expressed a wish that his restoration should be owing principally to the exertions of his own subjects. At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel, whom he instantly created a duke; and proceeding thence to Dublin, he entered the capital on the 24th of the same month, attended by the Catholic priests and prelates in the state-habits of their several orders. Loyal addresses poured in from every side; and none were warmer in their professions of attachment than the clergy of the Established Church. James answered their addresses with a duplicity equal to their own, and professed a sincere affection for the principles of the Anglican episcopal church. He then issued five proclamations; the first, commanding all Protestants who had left the kingdom to return under penalty of forfeiture; the second, commanding all Catholics not belonging to the army to deposite their arms in the royal stores; the third regulated the supply of provisions to the troops; the fourth raised the value of money; and the fifth summoned a parliament for the ensuing May.

Having thus provided for the civil government, James was anxious to give his subjects a specimen

of his military acquirements, and therefore advanced to reduce the disobedient city of Londonderry. Different plans were proposed for this purpose. Some recommended an immediate attempt to storm; others preferred the slow operations of a blockade; but it was finally resolved to try the effects of a long siege, in order that the Irish soldiers might become accustomed to arms and discipline. This resolution had scarcely been taken, when it was nearly rendered unnecessary by the cowardice or treachery of Lundy, the governor. He neglected to check the advance of the Irish army, though several favourable opportunities were afforded. He detained on board the ships two English regiments that had been sent to strengthen the garrison; and while James was yet at a distance, he summoned a council of war to deliberate on terms of capitulation. The council was composed of the officers of the English regiments, and the principal civic authorities. After a brief consultation, it was unanimously resolved that the town was indefensible; that the regiments should return to England; and that the citizens should endeavour to make the best terms they could. The regiments in consequence departed, and deputies were sent to treat with James.

The news of this determination was received with the utmost rage by the populace. They shouted for vengeance on their betrayers; slew one officer, and dangerously wounded another. In the midst of the confusion, Murray, a brave and popular officer, arrived at the head of a reinforcement. He addressed the soldiers in a brief, but animated speech, which was received with tumultuous applause. While he expostulated with Lundy, a number of the soldiers and citizens rushing to the walls, put an end to the negotiations, by firing on James and his advanced guard, then approaching the town. All subordination was instantly at an end; the governor and magistrates were deposed. Lundy concealed himself, to avoid

the popular fury; and a general meeting of the citizens was called, to elect a new civic administration. It has been frequently remarked, that when mobs elect leaders, they seldom make a bad choice; the truth of this aphorism was fully proved on the present occasion; the populace having discovered pusillanimity under the soldier's dress, sought and found courage and conduct beneath a cassock. They elected as governor George Walker, a clergyman, and his subsequent behaviour amply justified the wisdom of their choice.

The spirit and gallantry displayed by the men of Derry on this occasion has been often the theme of eulogy; but no praise can be adequate to their merits. They were in want of every thing. The walls were not very strong; the guns on the ramparts not sufficient for the defence of all the points; the town was unprovided with provisions; the garrison undisciplined, and uninstructed in the art of war. But the last circumstance, though apparently a disadvantage, was one of the chief causes of their success: they were ignorant of the dangers they had to encounter, and their enthusiasm enabled them to achieve triumphs where ordinary soldiers, taught the amount of hazard by experience, would have quailed in despair. The town contained about thirty thousand people, but the greater part of these were refugees from the surrounding country. The serviceable portion of the inhabitants amounted to about seven thousand half-armed men, which were formed into eight regiments, commanded by officers whom they elected themselves; and thus provided, they dared to defy an army of twenty thousand, headed by some of the best generals in Europe.

Nor are there any acts of cruelty or wanton bloodshed, such as frequently arise from high-wrought enthusiasm, to sully the fair fame of the men of Derry. Unlike their brethren the Enniskilleners, whose track was marked by carnage and desolation, the Derry-

men treated their enemies with tenderness and humanity. Lundy and the timid magistrates were permitted to depart uninjured: the few Catholics that were found in the town were deprived of their arms, but were permitted to go elsewhere, or remain, just as they pleased.

The events of the siege possess the interest of romance rather than history, for all the incidents are directly at variance with what might naturally have been expected from the condition of the besieged. As might be supposed, there was no regular government, and yet there was never the slightest appearance of confusion. When a soldier became exhausted from fatigue on the bastion, he retired to rest without waiting for permission, and his place was instantly supplied by another, who was anxious to manifest his zeal. There was no flinching—no reluctance to endure toil and fatigue—no wish to avoid a post of danger. When an opportunity offered, parties, self-formed, issued out and attacked the hostile lines. These sallies were sometimes defeated, but the parties not unfrequently returned laden with small supplies of provision and plunder. Eighteen clergymen of the established church, and seven dissenting ministers, cheerfully shared in all the toils of the siege, and in their turns collected the people every day in the cathedral, animating them to perseverance by that fervid eloquence which the circumstances of their situation naturally inspired. Contests about disputed points of doctrine were of rare occurrence, and when they arose were checked by the influence of the leaders. The zeal of all was directed to one common end, the preservation of the town from the great object of their hatred—popish dominion.

James and his generals were astounded at conduct that set all ordinary rules of calculation at defiance. The town was battered for eleven days. The garrison threw the gates open, and desired the besiegers

not to take the trouble of making a breach, when they might march through the open portals if they dared. The baffled monarch, irritated at the disappointment, bitterly reproached the Irish soldiers for allowing themselves to be foiled; and intrusting the conduct of the siege to the French general Rosen, returned to Dublin.

The siege had already lasted more than two months, and the gallant spirit of the garrison was unabated. But they had now to encounter disease and famine, two more formidable enemies than the besiegers. Their stock of provisions had been long exhausted, and they had recourse to the most loathsome and revolting substitutes for food. The heats of a summer more than ordinarily fierce generated a pestilence, which was aggravated by hunger and confinement, yet, in language which they were fond of borrowing, "there was no complaining heard in their streets."

The parent wept not over the child struck down by the plague, or withered by the famine that fell before his eyes; the husband returned from the walls to his famishing wife, and heard exhortations to perseverance, uttered in fainting accents; the children shared in the enthusiasm that prevented the common wants of nature from being felt, and submitted to privations without a murmur; the cathedral was crowded every day, by all who could crawl within the hallowed precincts; and the spiritual excitement supplied by the preachers made misery unfelt, and want unheeded. When their calamities had reached this height, they suddenly discovered a fleet of thirty sail advancing up the beautiful waters of Lough Foyle with supplies for their relief; but at the moment when their expectations were most excited, they beheld, with equal surprise and consternation, the fleet suddenly change its course, and retire. Kirke, the commander of the expedition, was a monster of inhumanity, whose cruel severities against the followers of the unhappy Monmouth have been

already recorded. It reflects indelible disgrace on William's character, that he employed and trusted this miscreant, and that he allowed his treacherous desertion of his former master to atone for the barbarities he had perpetrated in his service. When Kirke saw the Irish army preparing batteries to contest his passage, he became terrified, and sailed away, leaving the town apparently exposed to inevitable destruction. With great difficulty, and after repeated disappointments, the citizens succeeded in opening a communication with Kirke, and received a reply that was nothing better than cruel irony. He informed them, that he had sailed round to Lough Swilly, in order to open a communication with the Enniskilleners, and thus effect a diversion in their favour; and recommended them "to husband their provisions most carefully!"

Hamilton, one of the Irish leaders, compassionated the miseries, and respected the valour, of the men of Derry. He addressed them in the most affectionate terms, beseeching them to take pity upon themselves, and have compassion on their own distress. But their undaunted cry was still, "No surrender!" They replied, that they would not follow his example in treachery. Rosen declared, that if the town was not surrendered before the first day of July, all the Protestants in the neighbouring country should be driven beneath the walls there to perish, unless the garrison accepted his terms. All the Irish generals, except Lord Galmoy, strenuously protested against the execution of this barbarous threat; and the soldiers loudly expressed their disinclination to such cruelties. Rosen disregarded their remonstrances. On the following morning, the garrison beheld a confused assembly approaching the walls, on which they fired, happily without doing any mischief. With unutterable horror, they soon discovered that it was a helpless crowd of men, women, and children, driven from their homes to perish before their eyes, and urged forward by soldiers, who performed their

duty with sighs and tears. But the hearts even of these sufferers fainted not; the dying collected their last breath, to exhort the garrison to persevere in their heroic resistance; the women and children besought the soldiers on the walls to disregard their sufferings, and remain true to their cause; all conjured their brethren to revenge their wrongs, by baffling an enemy that was capable of such barbarities. The irritated garrison determined, as a retaliation, to hang up all the prisoners they had taken in their several sallies; and for this purpose, erected a gallows in sight of the enemy's camp. Among these were several very popular leaders; and the Irish army was on the point of mutiny, while Rosen still continued unmoved; but Hamilton and the other leaders had, in the mean time, communicated the circumstances to James, and obtained from him a positive order that the multitude should be allowed to return uninjured to their own homes.* The garrison took advantage of this opportunity to send out some of the most helpless citizens, receiving a reinforcement of the young and active in their stead; so that Rosen's cruelty eventually tended to their advantage.

Kirke was at length stimulated to make some exertions for the relief of Derry, on learning the general indignation that his conduct had caused in England, and that the garrison was about to yield at last to the enemy. He therefore despatched two victuallers, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to force the passage, which he might easily have effected seven weeks before. No pen can describe the excitement which prevailed in the town and the camp, when the approach of these vessels was discovered. The citizens rushed to the walls; the

* Tradition asserts, that Rosen would have disobeyed this order but for the fear of mutiny occasioned by the threat of hanging the prisoners; and that Hamilton was so pleased with the conduct of the governor on the occasion, that he sent him a present of provisions, and a letter commending his spirit.

Irish manned their batteries. As the ships approached the boom which the besiegers had placed across the entrance, the frigate shortened sail, and the transports proceeded alone. Heedless of the fire of the batteries, the larger of the victuallers steered with full force against the boom and broke it, but was driven ashore by the violence of the shock. It was a moment of intense anxiety. The besiegers rushed to seize the vessel; but before they could reach her she was forced off by the rebound of her own guns, and floated majestically into the harbour.

Thus ended the siege of Derry. More than half of the garrison perished by famine or disease; and the survivors were so worn by suffering, that they could scarcely be recognised. The Irish army broke up the siege and retired. The men of Derry had the courage, or rather the rashness, to sally out and attack their rear, for which they were punished by a severe defeat.

During the siege of Derry, the royal army had been greatly embarrassed by the Enniskilleners, who frequently surprised their outposts and intercepted their convoys. Lord Galway being sent to reduce them, laid siege to their frontier garrison, Crom Castle on Lough Erne. As he was prevented by the difficulties of the ground from bringing up his artillery, he was forced to have recourse to stratagem. He procured two mock cannons made of tin, which he ostentatiously placed in a battering condition, and then summoned the garrison to surrender. They not only sent him a spirited defiance, but, sallying out, drove the besiegers from their trenches, and routed them with great slaughter. The tin cannon were exhibited as trophies of their success, and long continued to furnish the Enniskilleners with a theme of boastful merriment. Kirke supplied these insurgents with arms; and their numbers soon becoming formidable, James determined to overwhelm them with three armies. The Duke of Berwick marched

against them from the north; Sarsfield advanced from Connaught with troops lately levied; and General Macarthy, who had completely subdued Inchiquin in Munster, now hasted to overwhelm the Enniskilleners. Ignorance of their danger saved them from ruin; they knew only of the motions of the Connaught army, and against this body they marched with great intrepidity. They surprised Sarsfield's camp, threw his soldiers into confusion, and routed them with great slaughter. They had not the same success against the Duke of Berwick, who cut several of their companies to pieces; but this disaster was more than compensated by their decisive victory over Macarthy at Newtown-Butler.

Wolsley, the commander of the Enniskilleners, had not more than two thousand men. Macarthy's numbers amounted to six thousand. Bravery alone would not have atoned for this disparity of force; but a fortunate accident gave a victory to the weaker army. Wolsley commenced the engagement by a furious attack on Macarthy's right wing, which he threw into confusion. The Irish general commanded some battalions from the centre to advance to its support. The officer who conveyed the order, gave the word "Wheel to the right," which was mistaken for "Wheel to the right about." The battalions consequently began to march from the field; and the troops in the rear, seeing the symptoms of retreat, broke and fled. The Irish general was unable to remedy this fatal error; the Enniskilleners pursued their advantage and completed the rout. Two thousand of the Irish were slain, and about six hundred forced into Lough Erne, where they perished. The Enniskilleners sullied their victory by needless barbarity. They refused quarter to all but officers, and murdered their wounded captives in cold blood. Macarthy was brought as a prisoner into Enniskillen, bitterly lamenting the chance by which his life had been preserved.

The successes of the Protestants of the north, however brilliant, could have produced but little effect in the final decision of the contest, had James acted with spirit or energy. Dundee wrote to him a pressing letter, requesting him to delay no longer in a country, nine-tenths of which were already in his possession; but to come over and show himself in Scotland, where an army would start up at the very moment of his landing. There is little doubt that James would have been restored, if he had adopted this prudent counsel; but he knew not the value of the Highlanders as soldiers, and hesitated until his cause was ruined by the fall of Dundee. James was at this time, and indeed during the whole period of his residence in Ireland, guided entirely by the advice of the French ambassador, who regarded rather the interests of his own master, than the restoration of the dethroned monarch. He detained James in Ireland, because he deemed that his presence there was an advantage to France.

CHAPTER X.

King James's Irish Parliament.

The military career of James had not tended to raise his character for courage or conduct; and we shall find as little reason to admire him as a legislator. The parliament met on the 7th of May 1689, at the Inns of Court in Dublin. The number of the Catholic peers was increased by the reversal of several attainders, and by some new creations, which it is but just to add were well merited. Several Protestant lords and bishops attended. They frequently opposed the measures of the court with great spirit; but no attempt was ever made to check

their freedom. No Catholic prelates were summoned. The members of the Lower House were chiefly Catholics. The university, and a few other places, returned Protestants; but they were lost in the great majority which the late change in the corporations by Tyrconnel enabled the court to secure. The parliament was opened by the king in person, wearing his royal robes, and with the crown on his head. The king's speech was temperate and judicious. He commended the zeal and loyalty of his Irish subjects; declared his abhorrence of violating the rights of conscience or those of property; promised equal protection to Catholics and Protestants; and stated his readiness to assent to any laws which would benefit the nation. He particularly recommended to the notice of the Parliament the distressed state of trades and manufactures, and the condition of those who had been unjustly deprived of their property by the Act of Settlement. Nagle, the speaker of the House of Commons, and Fitton, the lord chancellor, made the proper commentary on the speech; and affectionate addresses were unanimously voted in reply by both houses.

With the single exception of the Act of Attainder, never sat a parliament in Ireland whose laws were better calculated to serve the country, and whose exertions were more uniformly directed by a spirit of equity and sound policy. But the Act of Attainder was a piece of monstrous injustice, almost rivalling the sweeping confiscations of the Cromwellians. By this law, about two thousand Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, known or suspected to be adherents of William, were attainted and declared to have forfeited all their property, real and personal, unless they surrendered before a certain day. By a clause still more atrocious, the king was deprived of the power of pardoning all who did not establish their innocence before a certain day. As an excuse for this violent measure, the precedent of the for-

feitures, made with even greater injustice by the Cromwellians and the English parliament, had been quoted. But one crime cannot justify another; and though the Irish parliament did not so flagrantly outrage every principle of equity as their Protestant predecessors, it is to be lamented that they sullied the brightest spot of Irish history by a measure which cannot be defended. It is much more agreeable to contemplate the wise and beneficent laws by which this single instance of wrong was accompanied. One of the first acts passed by James's parliament was, "An act for establishing liberty of conscience, and repealing such acts or clauses in any act of parliament, as are inconsistent with the same." To this measure the Irish Catholic may appeal as a full and satisfactory refutation of the charges of bigotry and intolerance; and the Irish Protestant must blush to remember, that William's Protestant parliament, so far from imitating this noble example of enlightened liberality, took the earliest opportunity of establishing a system of penal laws, compared with which the persecutions of Spanish inquisitors were tenderness and mercy. The second act connected with religion adopted by this parliament, regulated the payment of tithes. It directed that all should pay tithes to the pastors of their several communions. No one can say that this measure was unjust; it is only the labourers that are worthy of their hire; and if it be necessary to provide a legal support for the religious instruction of the people, it should be paid to those who are really their instructors.

The establishment of the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland had been always a favourite object of the native Irish, and had been equally the dread and abhorrence of the Cromwellians, who looked to the maintenance of English power for the security of their estates. A bill was introduced, prohibiting writs of error and appeal into England,

and providing that no act of the English parliament should bind Ireland. It passed through the lower house with little opposition; but was fiercely attacked by the Protestant Bishop of Meath, when it was sent up to the Lords. He argued that it was inconsistent with the oath of supremacy; that it trenched on the royal prerogative; and, with more reason, that it tended to dissolve the connexion between the two countries. The arguments of the worthy prelate did not appear very convincing, even to the Protestant lords. On a division, he was the only not-content. - A bill for the repeal of Poyning's law, though strenuously urged by the parliament, was vehemently opposed by the king, and finally lost. This was not the only instance of disunion between the Irish and their sovereign.* They early discovered the gross and incurable defects in the character of James—his meanness mingled with pride—his weakness and obstinacy—his presumptuous folly—his incurable love of despotic power. They were justly jealous of the partiality he showed to foreigners and strangers. They were indignant at perceiving that he received their services as matter of right, and rewarded them with coldness and ingratitude. In fact, they would have got rid of him if they could; but they were too generous to desert a sovereign who had thrown himself on their protection, and too loyal to dismiss a king as unceremoniously as the people of England.

The great business of the session was the repeal of the "Act of Settlement." A bill for this purpose was prepared by Baron Rice and Sir Richard Nagle. It was introduced in the lower house on the 13th of May, and was brought up to the lords on the 22d of the same month. It was canvassed

* He also rejected a bill which provided inns of court for the education of Irish law-students—an object which the Catholics were eager to obtain, because they deemed the religion of their children endangered by a residence in London.

with all the attention which a measure of such importance merited; and it was the middle of June before it finally passed. The Protestant bishops, and some of the nobility, asked leave to enter their protest against the bill. James replied, that protests came in rebellious times; but permitted them to record their dissent, which was accordingly done. The protest was signed by the Bishops of Meath, Ossory, Cork, and Limerick; by the proxies of the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Waterford; and by four temporal peers, Granard, Longford, Rosse, and Howth.

The parliament had granted James the enormous subsidy of twenty thousand pounds monthly, which he instantly doubled by royal proclamation. The Irish nobility remonstrated against this violent stretch of the royal prerogative; but James was not to be dissuaded. He passionately exclaimed, "If I cannot do this, I can do nothing;" and reminded them of their former protestations of unlimited obedience. But it was easier to impose taxes than to procure payment. Money came in slowly, and James had recourse to a new measure, in which he anticipated the financial policy of Mr. Pitt. He erected a bank, and, by his own proper authority, forthwith established a bank-restriction act. He issued metal tokens formed from old cannon, broken bells, and other useless materials, at the nominal value of five pounds sterling for every pound weight of the coin. But James knew not how to support the credit of his metallic notes. The coin was paid into his exchequer at the nominal value; but, in the ordinary transactions of business, it passed for little more than its real worth. The king was sorely puzzled by this consequence, which he had not at all anticipated. In vain did he promise, that, at a future time, his metallic notes should be exchanged for sterling coin. The traders could not be persuaded to receive the tokens at the nominal value; or, rather,

they evaded the proclamation, by raising the price of all commodities. The king was forced to have recourse to another expedient. He issued a table of prices, and denounced severe penalties against those who demanded more. Improving in financial policy as he advanced, he determined to become a merchant himself. He bought up the staple articles of the kingdom with his base coin, and, exporting them to France, there sold them for good money. Few were willing to sell their property on such terms; but there was no resisting a purchaser, who came attended by a troop of dragoons, or a company of musketeers.

The clamour raised against these proceedings by the Protestant writers is exceedingly ridiculous. James's scheme of a national bank was not one whit worse than the thousand and one schemes of banking which have since appeared. The bank failed, and involved multitudes in misery, and so have many other banks in later times; but surely it is unreasonable that the Protestants, who used their utmost efforts to break the bank, should complain of a consequence which they themselves laboured so strenuously to produce. The Catholics murmured with more justice; for when the battle of the Boyne annihilated "the bank," they lost every thing.

The Protestants complain, that James gave several churches and schools to the Catholic clergy, which of right belonged to themselves. But, in this instance, the conduct of the monarch was not without excuse. The Protestant clergy had not given themselves the only title to possession, which deserves to be regarded. They had not filled the churches with congregations, nor the schools with scholars.*

* Many of the Irish endowed schools were, until very lately, notorious sinecures. Dr. Grier, the brother-in-law of the Archbishop of Dublin, for many years received the emoluments of the endowed school of Middleton, though he resided in Dublin, while the untenanted school-house crumbled into ruins.

The Catholics did both, and their claim was consequently more reasonable. The violence with which James treated the University of Dublin is not equally excusable. It was an atrocious instance of bigotry and tyranny. He sent a "mandamus" to the provost and fellows, commanding them to admit a Roman Catholic named Greene to the office of senior fellow. With becoming spirit, the heads of the university flatly refused to obey the arbitrary edict, and pleaded their own cause before Sir Richard Nagle. James would not even wait for a legal decision. He sent a body of soldiers, who unceremoniously expelled provost, fellows, and scholars, converted the chapel into a magazine, and the college itself into a barrack. By the advice of his confessor, James designed to establish a Jesuit seminary on this foundation; and, in the mean time, appointed a Catholic priest named Moore provost, and Macarthy, another of the same order, librarian. Moore and Macarthy were men of learning and integrity; they carefully preserved the library, with all its valuable manuscripts and furniture; and when William's arrival afforded an opportunity, surrendered the entire safe and uninjured to the rightful owners.

The administration of justice during this brief period deserves the highest praise. With the exception of Nugent and Fitton, the Irish judges would have been an honour to any bench. Kenting, a Protestant, was a man of spirit and independence; he unhesitatingly condemned several of the king's arbitrary measures; and it is but justice to add, that he did not thereby forfeit the royal confidence. But the boast of the Irish bench, both for talent and integrity, was Chief-baron Rice. The breath of calumny has never uttered an imputation against his impartiality; and his compassionate tenderness almost degenerated into weakness. After the completion of the revolution he emigrated, but, wearied of a life of dependency, he returned home and re-

commenced his career as a barrister. He appeared in a stuff gown pleading before that bench which he had so long adorned, and commanding the respect of the most inveterate enemies of his religion and nation. It is gratifying to learn that his honourable labours met their due reward. He amassed a second fortune more considerable than that which had been confiscated. He died in a good old age, bequeathing to his successors extensive estates, the reward of industry and probity, and an honourable name which none of them have disgraced.

The military affairs, after the raising of the siege of Derry, were unaccountably neglected by James and his officers. They knew that William was making active preparations for the invasion of Ireland, and they took no efficient measures of defence. Soldiers marched and countermarched without plan, order, or regularity. They were billeted on the inhabitants of the cities and towns, who vainly remonstrated against the hardship; but they were neither employed in garrisoning the towns on the coast, nor in subduing the Protestants of the north, who might have been easily crushed by a vigorous effort. The real cause of this confusion in the military councils appears to have been the national jealousy between the Irish and French officers, and the unwise partiality of the foolish king for foreigners. There was even a suspicion that James had agreed to place Ireland under the protection of France; and the Irish, justly indignant, were resolved not to submit to such an insult. It is probable that, had William at this time offered fair and favourable terms to the Catholics, he might have obtained the kingdom by negotiations, and averted the misery of two years of desolating war.

CHAPTER XI.

The Campaigns of Schomberg and William.

THE delay of making any efforts to support the cause of Protestantism in Ireland exposed William III. to great and unmerited censure. He found that the crown which he had been so eager to obtain was indeed a crown of thorns, and that those who had been foremost in promoting his elevation were now as anxious to hasten his downfall. Dundee was in arms in Scotland—the English fleet had suffered a severe defeat in Bantry Bay—the power of the French king threatened the ruin of Holland, which William loved much better than his new dominions—and finally, the distraction of England prevented the new king from paying that attention to Ireland which its importance required, and which the English people very imperatively demanded. The popular discontent hurried the preparations. With considerable difficulty an army of somewhat more than ten thousand men was assembled, and placed under the command of Duke Schomberg, an officer of great reputation. The materials of which this army was composed exhibited a strange mixture of nations and languages. There were Danes, Germans, Dutchmen, French refugees, and military adventurers from every European country. The "thirty years' war" had filled Europe with those soldiers of fortune, ready to lend their swords to the service of any cause which promised pay and plunder; but after the accession of Louis XIV., some appearance of principle was manifested by such adventurers; regarding his wars, as indeed they in

some sort were, a contest between Catholicism and Protestantism for the supremacy in Europe, they no longer showed an utter indifference to principle, but selected a service which, in some measure, accorded with their religious profession. William was justly regarded as the head of the Protestant party in Europe; the pay given by England and Holland was higher and more secure than that of other states; and both these causes supplied William with bodies of hardy veterans, familiar with war from their cradle.

Bravery, however, was the chief, almost the only valuable attribute possessed by these men. They were the outcasts of all society, familiar with every crime, abandoned to every excess. Vices for which language scarcely ventures to find a name, abominations that may not be described, and can scarcely be imagined, were constantly practised by these bands, which the long continental wars had called into existence. The traditions of Irish Protestants and Catholics contain a horrid catalogue of the enormities practised by "this black banditti;" and these accounts are fully confirmed by the narratives which the contemporary writers have given of their conduct in other countries.* With these were joined some raw English levies, who found it much easier to imitate the debaucheries, than to practise the discipline, of the foreigners. Indeed, no worse scourge could be sent by an angry Providence than the army which now proceeded against Ireland.

On the 13th of August, 1689, Schomberg's troops effected their landing in Bangor Bay, near Carrickfergus, without encountering any opposition. A

* If there was any necessity to add confirmation to these facts, which, however, are sufficiently notorious, it might be found in the letters of Dr. Gorge, Schomberg's secretary and chaplain. Let one extract suffice. "Can we expect," says he, speaking of the English army, "that *Sodom* will destroy Babylon; or that debauchery will extirpate popery? Our enemy fights against us with the principle of a mistaken conscience; we, against the conviction of our own consciences, against them."

favourable opportunity was afforded to the Irish quartered in the neighbourhood of attacking him during the night; but it was lost, because the leaders had greatly overrated the quantity and quality of the English army. They believed that it amounted to thirty thousand, though it scarcely exceeded one-third of the number; and they believed that it was totally composed of veterans, though at least one-half consisted of raw levies. It was long before this fatal error was dissipated. Schomberg's first enterprise was the siege of Carrickfergus. The place was vigorously attacked, and as obstinately defended. Macarty More, the governor, did not surrender until his last barrel of powder was expended, and even then obtained honourable conditions. No attempt was made to relieve the town by James or his general. They were at the time busily employed in long discussions on the plan of the campaign, when the slightest exertion of vigour would have terminated it in a few days. It is painful to add that the terms of the capitulation were flagrantly violated. The inhabitants were stripped and plundered; the women treated with a licentious cruelty which will not admit of description. It is worthy of remark, that in all the civil wars by which Ireland has been devastated, no instance of a single injury offered to a female can be charged against the native Irish; while, in every instance, the conduct of the English soldiers was not only licentious, but brutal. The exertions of Schomberg, who was an honourable and humane man, at length checked these atrocities; but by these exertions he incurred the hatred of his own soldiers.

Soon after the English army had landed, they were joined by the Enniskilleners, and were perfectly astounded by the appearance of the men whose fame had been so loudly trumpeted in England. Every man was armed and equipped after his own fashion, and each man was attended by a mounted

servant bearing his baggage. Discipline was as little regarded as uniformity. They rode in a confused body, and only formed a hasty line when preparing to fight. Descended from the Levellers and Covenanters, they preserved all the gloomy fanaticism of their fathers, and believed the slaughtering of papists an act of religious duty. They were robbers and murderers on principle, for they believed themselves commissioned to remove idolatry from the land. Inferior to the old Levellers in strength and skill, they equalled them in enthusiasm, and surpassed them in courage. They never hesitated to encounter any odds, however unequal; and rejoiced in the prospect of death, while engaged in what they called the service of the Lord. Reeking from the field of battle, they assembled round their preachers, who always accompanied them in their expeditions, and listened with eager delight to their wild effusions, in which the magnificent orientalisms of the Old Testament were strangely combined with their own gross and vulgar sentiments. They were like the modern Cossacks—a formidable body of irregular cavalry, and for that very reason an encumbrance to an orderly and disciplined army.

Neither Schomberg, nor any of William's generals, understood the value of these men. William himself despised them most heartily, and subjected them to military execution by the dozen for violating the laws of war. From the moment that they joined the regular army, they performed no exploit worthy of their former fame, simply because they could not learn a new mode of fighting. They were aware of this themselves, and frequently declared with truth, that "they could do no good while acting under orders."

Schomberg advanced along the coast, for the convenience of being supported by the fleet. The country was a complete desert, having been ex-

hausted in the petty warfare between the Enniskilleners and the Irish. It was also intersected by bogs and mountains, whose difficulties soon broke down the strength and spirits of the English troops. At his approach James's generals were inclined to retreat; but were diverted from this inglorious resolution by Tyrconnel, who promised them an immediate reinforcement of twenty thousand men. When Schomberg had advanced as far as Dundalk, he halted. His men were quite exhausted. The fleet destined to supply him with artillery and provisions had not yet arrived at Carlingford; flying parties of the Irish hung on his flank and rear, cutting off his soldiers from food and forage. Marshal Rosen no sooner perceived that Schomberg had paused, than he pronounced that "he wanted something;" and immediately began to concentrate the Irish forces. Schomberg could not, in his present condition, hazard a battle. He therefore chose what seemed a favourable position for a fortified camp, and secured himself by intrenchments. James soon joined his forces, and led them with banners displayed before the enemy's lines. Both armies were anxious to engage, and both were disappointed by their leaders. Schomberg knew his own weakness too well to quit his position, and James would not hazard an attempt to storm a fortified camp. The decision of both was blamed by their followers. The English said that they came to fight like soldiers, not to work like slaves; and they had imbibed from the Enniskilleners a contempt for the enemy. Rosen indignantly said to James, "If your majesty had ten kingdoms you would lose them." James appears to have relied on the influence of some secret emissaries over the French emigrants in Schomberg's camp, and on the national vanity of the French, who deemed the glories of Louis almost an atonement for his tyrannical persecution. A conspiracy

among the French was in fact detected; but before it could produce any effect, the ringleaders were secured and punished.

There is little doubt but that James would have succeeded, had he indulged his soldiers, and ordered an assault. Schomberg's camp was unfortunately pitched in an unwholesome spot, where his army was rapidly wasted by disease. His men would doubtless have made a brave resistance; the foreign veterans were the best troops then in Europe. The dogged resolution of the English infantry has often been proved; but their physical energies were broken; and they must have yielded to troops full of health and vigour, fighting for their country and their homes. But confinement to the camp was as destructive to Schomberg's gallant army as the most disastrous defeat could have been. The number of the sick far exceeded that of those who retained their health; there were not enough of spare men to bury their dead; and the putrefying carcasses soon frightfully increased the pestilence. The evil was aggravated by the characteristic obstinacy of the English soldiers; they were in a bad humour with their general; and they exhibited it by neglecting their own comforts. No persuasion could prevail upon them to erect huts and other protections against the inclement weather, or to remove the dead bodies of their comrades for interment. They actually used the carcasses for shade or shelter, and murmured when deprived of such accommodations.

In the quaint words of one of Schomberg's officers, "It would have been as hard to confine the Enniskilleners in a camp, as to keep a regiment of March hares in a circle of a yard diameter." They were allowed during this time to pursue their own mode of warfare, which they did with some success; but their triumphs were more than compensated by the loss of Jamestown and Sligo, which Sarsfield, who commanded the Irish light troops, captured by

storm. The arrival of some fresh regiments enabled Schomberg to remove from the camp which had proved so fatal to his army; but even the retreat was attended with shocking calamities. The motion of the wagons over rough and rugged roads proved fatal to a great part of the sick; they were thrown out, as they expired, by the road-side. The regiments, already weakened, suffered severely from the fatigues of the march and the inclemency of the weather. Numbers quitted the ranks, and quietly resigned themselves to death, as the only relief of their miseries. The rear-guard of Schomberg's army literally marched through a lane formed by the piled bodies of their fallen comrades. Thus ended a campaign, during which it has been said, with some truth, that "Schomberg did nothing, and James helped him."

Nothing could exceed the disappointment of the English nation, when they learned the impotent conclusion of Schomberg's campaign. The Cromwellian refugees had represented the Irish nation as a set of despicable cowards, who might be subdued with little trouble or hazard; and the English had greedily adopted an opinion so flattering to their prejudices. Great, then, was their astonishment, to find a well-appointed army, and one of the best generals in Europe, baffled by those very Irish, though headed by the imbecile James. The House of Commons resolved to inquire into the causes of this disappointment, and soon involved themselves in a serious quarrel with the king, whose consequences might have been fatal. The whigs and William hated each other most cordially, almost from the very beginning of their connexion; but they were necessary to each other, and consequently forced to assume the semblance of reconciliation. The disputes respecting Ireland were so warm, that William is said, on good authority, to have meditated resigning the crown, and returning to Holland, but

was dissuaded by some of the whig leaders, who promised to bring the commons into a better temper. At the same time, to satisfy the people, William professed his intention of taking the command of the Irish army in person.

A. D. 1690.—During the winter, several slight engagements took place between the Irish light troops and the Enniskilleners, generally to the advantage of the latter. The French king sent over five thousand men, under the command of the Duke de Lauzun; but neutralized this benefit, by requiring as many Irish soldiers in exchange. This was a serious injury to the royal cause; for the exported troops were the flower of the Irish army, and commanded by Macarthy More, one of James's best officers. The French soldiers, on the contrary, were raw and undisciplined; their leader better fitted for the levee or the drawing-room than the field of battle. The campaign opened ominously for James. A single frigate, the last remnant of his once-powerful fleet, was captured by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the monarch's presence; for, on hearing the firing, James, believing that the English fleet had returned to their allegiance, hastened to the shore to receive their submission, but only arrived in time to witness the loss of his last vessel.

The loss of Charlemont was a much more serious injury to the Irish cause; the more especially as it gave full proof of the treachery or incapacity that reigned in the councils of James. Though a frontier garrison, and of great importance, it was not supplied with provisions until after the siege had actually commenced. Teague O'Regan, the governor of Charlemont, was a brave old veteran, in the seventieth year of his age. He was a quaint humorist; his figure seemed moulded by nature in one of her most whimsical moods; and it was his pleasure to render it still more ridiculous by his dress. He was small and hunch-backed; his features sharp; his

gait irregular. He wore a grizzly wig, of formidable dimensions; a white hat, with an immense feather, a scarlet coat, huge jackboots, and a cloak that might have served a giant. He was fond of riding; and the horse which he selected was scarcely to be matched for viciousness and deformity. Schomberg, who was himself a little eccentric, took an amazing fancy to the character of Teague O'Regan, and offered the garrison the most favourable conditions. O'Regan's answer was characteristic; he simply replied, "That old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle!" A detachment of five hundred men brought O'Regan a very insufficient supply of ammunition and provision, which he feared that they would soon consume, if admitted into the garrison; and he therefore directed them to force their way back through the English lines. This they attempted, but were repulsed with loss; and as O'Regan would not admit them into the castle, they were forced to take up their quarters on the counterscarp. The consequences may easily be foreseen; provisions were soon exhausted; and the garrison compelled to capitulate. Schomberg granted the best terms, and when he met the governor, invited him to dinner. During the repast, an Irish priest of the town entered into an argument with an English dragoon on the difficult subject of "transubstantiation." From words, the disputants soon came to blows; and a messenger was sent to inform O'Regan of the breach of the capitulation, by the ill-treatment of the priest. O'Regan heard the story with great gravity, and coolly replied, "Served him right; what the deuse business had a priest to begin an argument with a dragoon!"—a jest which had the happy effect of restoring all parties to good-humour.

We must now direct our attention to more serious subjects. William, previous to his arrival, sent over strong reinforcements to the army in Ulster; and as he had not yet learned the value of the English infantry, the new troops consisted chiefly of those

foreign military adventurers whom we have already described. On the 6th of June his grand park of artillery, with all the ordnance stores, was landed at Carrickfergus, and thither the king came himself on the 14th, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and several other noblemen of distinction. The clergymen of the established church waited on William with an address, differing very little from that which they had already presented to James, but which was probably more sincere. The connexion between the church and state led to many inconsistencies which in that day were but slightly regarded. James was regularly prayed for in all the churches within his lines: when William advanced his name was substituted; and when he retreated his rival again became "our most religious and gracious king." With equal prudence and generosity William distributed a large sum of money among the northern dissenting teachers: they had been the most devoted of his adherents, and had shared in all the warlike operations of the Ulster army. Persuaded that promptitude would be of the most essential service, William ordered his army to advance southwards, in order to force an engagement as soon as possible; and when some of his officers advised greater caution, he replied, "I came not into Ireland to let the grass grow under my feet." His army amounted to thirty-six thousand chosen men, of which the greater part were veterans whose valour had been proved in several battle-fields on the Continent.

James, on hearing of William's landing, hastened to join his army, which had retreated from Dundalk to Drogheda, and now occupied a position on the southern bank of the river Boyne. The French and Irish officers vainly laboured to dissuade James from fighting. They represented to him that his numbers were inferior to those of the enemy; that the greater part of his forces were raw levies; that the promised

succours from France might be speedily expected; and that in the mean time the English army would be unable to resist the effects of the climate, and the harassing guerilla warfare that might be maintained by the peasantry and the light troops. They showed him how easily he could maintain a defensive war behind the Shannon, until France would strengthen him, and time weaken his rival. There is no obstinacy so great as that of a coward suddenly seized with a braggart fit. James, whose poltroonery—for his conduct deserves no milder term—had caused the loss of the fairest opportunities of success, astonished all his officers by a sudden assumption of courage that bordered on rashness. He insisted on fighting, with so much animation, that his soldiers were persuaded that he intended to take a desperate part in the engagement; but at the same time, with ominous precaution, he despatched Sir Patrick Trant to Waterford, in order to secure a ship for his escape in case of misfortune. It was evidently William's interest to bring the affair to an immediate decision. He knew the slippery ground on which he stood with the factions in England; he was acquainted with the secret intrigues of France for his destruction; and was convinced that every day that the Irish war was protracted added to his danger.

On the last day of June, at the first dawn of morning, William's army advanced towards the river. Having chosen a spot for his camp, the English king proceeded to take a survey of the enemy's lines from a hill which commanded an extensive prospect. William found the Irish posted in a very favourable position. On the right was the town of Drogheda; their left was protected by a deep morass; in their front flowed the river Boyne scarcely fordable; and in front of their line were some breastworks and hedges convenient to be lined with infantry. In their rear at some distance lay the church and village of Donore, and about three miles farther was

the pass of Duleek, on which they depended for a retreat.

Anxious to gain a nearer view of the enemy, William proceeded with some officers towards the ford opposite the village of Old Bridge, and, having spent some time in reconnoitring, set down to refresh himself on some rising ground. His motions had not escaped the attention of the Irish army. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some other leaders, rode on the opposite bank to observe the English army, and soon discovered William's situation. Suddenly a squadron of horse appeared in a ploughed field opposite the place where he was sitting. They concealed two field-pieces in their centre, which were soon placed in position. At the moment William mounted his horse a shot from one of these guns killed a man and two horses nearly on a line with him, and a second ball grazed his right shoulder, tearing the coat and a piece of the flesh. A report was spread through both armies that the English king was slain; the rumour was spread as far as Paris; and the rejoicing which Louis meanly ordered on the occasion proved how highly he estimated the character of his opponent.

To prevent the evil consequences of this unfounded rumour, William, as soon as the wound had been dressed, rode through the ranks of his army and showed himself to his soldiers. In the evening he called a council of war, not to deliberate, but to receive his instructions. Schomberg remonstrated against the resolution to engage, and pointed out the hazard of crossing a river in the teeth of an intrenched enemy; but circumstances scarcely left William an option. He rejected the old general's advice, and Schomberg retired to his tent in disgust. When he received the order of battle in the evening, he indignantly exclaimed that it was the first which had been ever sent him.

The debates in the councils of James were longer

and more discordant. The assumed courage of the wretched monarch had totally disappeared on the approach of danger; and he was now as eager to avoid, as he had been before to court, a battle. The French generals, perceiving the great superiority of William in numbers and artillery, also wished, if possible, to decline an engagement. The Irish declared themselves ready to fight. Under these circumstances a kind of half-measure was adopted. It was determined to hazard a partial battle, and to retreat without risking a general engagement. To this strange determination James in all probability owed the loss of his kingdom.

CHAPTER XII.

The Battle of the Boyne—The Sieges of Athlone and Limerick.

On the memorable morning of the 1st of July, 1690, William's army advanced to the banks of the Boyne in three columns. The cavalry of the right wing was commanded by Count Schomberg, son of the duke; the infantry by General Douglas. The centre, under the command of Duke Schomberg, marched towards some fords that had been discovered near the bridge of Slane. The left, headed by the king in person, proceeded to a ford nearer to the town of Drogheda. On the side of the Irish, the left and centre were composed of native troops. The right wing, which took no share in the engagement, consisted of the French auxiliaries. Count Schomberg and Douglas crossed the river without much opposition. They suffered, however, severely from the heavy fire of the Irish skirmishers, who were posted behind the hedges which intersected the

plain. When these obstacles were overcome, they had to struggle through the morass which protected the left flank of the Irish—an object not to be accomplished without great loss and difficulty, but which was finally attained by persevering gallantry. Astonished at this intrepidity, the Irish gave ground and retreated towards Duleek, hotly pursued by Count Schomberg. Reinforcements, however, soon came up from the centre, and Schomberg was forced to retire in his turn.

William's main body, consisting of his Dutch guard, then the finest infantry in Europe, and some regiments of French Hugonots and other fugitives, now entered the river, and found the water rising as high as their breasts. They advanced firmly, holding their muskets above their heads, under a severe and close fire, poured upon them by several Irish battalions which Hamilton had placed upon the bank. The Dutch were not shaken; they pushed forward, and, having gained the bank, rapidly formed, driving in the skirmishers before them. They were repeatedly charged by the Irish cavalry; but though they suffered severely, their squares remained unbroken. William immediately ordered two Hugonot regiments and one British to advance to the relief of his favourite troops. They were met by Hamilton's infantry in the stream; but at length made good their passage. Scarcely, however, had this been effected when they were charged by the Irish cavalry. The British regiment maintained its ranks; but the Hugonots, being taken in flank, were broken, scattered, and trampled down in a moment. Caillemotte, their brave commander, was slain, the greater part of the men cut to pieces; a few fled to the opposite bank pursued by the dragoons. The Danish horse next advanced, but were broken by the Irish in the very first charge, and driven back in great confusion. The superiority of the Irish cavalry was now so apparent that William's soldiers, who had not yet

crossed, raised a cry of "Horse, horse!" which, being mistaken for an order "To halt," only increased the confusion.

Had James chosen at this moment to place himself at the head of his troops for one general charge, or had the French auxiliaries attacked the Dutch in flank, the event of the battle would certainly have restored his crown. But he remained a passive spectator on the hill of Donore; and, as the Irish traditions unanimously assert, exclaimed, as he witnessed the destructive charges of Hamilton's dragoons, "Spare, oh spare my English subjects!" As to the French troops, their behaviour is wholly inexplicable, and we cannot even conjecture a probable cause for their inactivity. William, with his usual presence of mind, hastened to bring up his left wing to retrieve the fortune of the day, and at the same time the brave old Schomberg rallied some infantry and cavalry, and led them to the relief of the centre. The Irish dragoons, returning from the pursuit of the Danes, charged and broke this reinforcement. Old Schomberg was taken prisoner, but immediately after was shot by one of his own men. At the same time fell Walker the clergyman who had so bravely defended Derry, and who seems to have imbibed a fatal passion for the military profession. William had no great respect, and still less affection, for the character of this clerical soldier. When told of his death he coolly observed, "The fool! what business had he there?"

The left wing, consisting of the Danish, Dutch, and Enniskillen horse, and a large body of infantry, now entered the action with their gallant monarch at their head. They pushed on steadily, and forced back the Irish infantry; but Hamilton's dragoons still preserved their former superiority. They completely broke the foreign cavalry, and threatened the flanks of William's battalions. He then rode to the Enniskilleners, and asked "what they would do

for him?" Being informed that he was the king, they declared that they were ready to follow him; but being disheartened by a close and destructive volley, they wheeled round and galloped from the field. Their apologists say that they misunderstood their orders, and on discovering their mistake returned again to the fight. However that may be, it is certain that William ever after viewed this part of his force with contempt, not unmingled with hatred. The Irish infantry were forced to retreat to the hill of Donore, where they made such a desperate stand that William's army recoiled. Hamilton seized the decisive moment to charge; but the squares of the British infantry could not be broken; his troops recoiled, and he remained a prisoner. The Irish then made good their retreat to Duleek; and their cavalry effectually checked every attempt at pursuit.*

There is a great difference in the many contemporary narratives of this engagement that have been published. It was long the fashion of the Cromwellians to depreciate the valour of the Irish; and they have not neglected it on this occasion. But the main facts of the battle are indisputable. William's army was numerically superior to his opponent's by several thousands; the English had a still greater advantage in discipline and experience; and also in their artillery and equipments. Yet was the issue of the contest doubtful to the last moment of the day; and at its close William had gained nothing but the ground on which it had been fought. Except Hamilton, the English took no prisoners; and the

* When Hamilton was brought before William, he asked him "whether the Irish would fight again?"—"Upon my honour I believe they will," replied the Irish general.—"Honour! YOUR honour?" said William with bitter irony, alluding to Hamilton's breach of faith in the negotiation with Tyrconnel. The general might have defended himself by pleading his superior obligation to preserve his allegiance to his rightful sovereign, and retorted on the not very candid manner in which William had behaved both to his father-in-law and the English nation. But it is not easy to argue with the leader of thirty thousand men; and Hamilton prudently remained silent

Irish preserved all their artillery, baggage, and standards. The numbers slain in the field of battle were nearly equal on both sides; but the balance against the Irish was increased after the engagement by the marauders of William's camp, who murdered the peasantry that had come through curiosity to see the battle, the stragglers, and the wounded. In this safe but not very honourable service the Enniskilleners were particularly distinguished. The indisputable superiority of Hamilton's cavalry seems to have sorely annoyed those writers who hate to acknowledge any merits in Irishmen. They gravely assure us that their valour was owing to a half-pint of brandy which had been administered to each trooper in the morning! Those who are acquainted with Irish soldiers know well that double that quantity of ardent spirits would make but little difference in their conduct. After the many proofs of Hibernian bravery exhibited during the late war, it now seems unnecessary to vindicate their character; but as bigotry and party zeal have not unfrequently revived these calumnies, it is the duty of an impartial historian to defend the character of the brave, more especially when they have been unfortunate.

With equal injustice have many Irish Catholic and continental writers attempted to detract from William's merits in this engagement. If heroism could bestow a title to a throne, William merited one on this occasion. His coolness, his courage, his presence of mind averted total ruin, which frequently seemed impending; and he alone deserves the credit of the final success; for, without an abuse of language, it can scarcely be called a victory. Though suffering from the pain of the wound which he had received on the preceding evening, he shared in all the fatigues of the bottle. He was constantly to be seen in the hottest part of the engagement, directing the evolutions and animating the courage of his soldiers. Under every danger and difficulty he pre-

served the same unshaken firmness; and when one of his own troopers, not recognising his person, levelled a pistol at his head, he coolly put it aside, saying, "What! do you not know your own friends?"

Before the fate of the battle was quite decided, James fled to Dublin, and summoned a hasty council of his friends. To them he addressed a speech, equally false, malignant, and ungrateful. He ascribed his defeat to the cowardice of the Irish—declared that he believed the contest hopeless; and then continued his flight to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit. The Irish were heartily glad to get rid of him. They justly ascribed their defeat to his cowardice and incapacity. "Change kings," was their common cry, "and we will fight the battle over again!" At this hour the name of the wretched monarch is never mentioned in Ireland without an unsavoury epithet, expressive of the utmost contempt and detestation.

Thus left to themselves, the Irish leaders determined to adopt their original plan, and withdraw their forces behind the Shannon. Before leaving Dublin they released all the prisoners whom James had confined for political offences; and assembling the principal Protestants, resigned the custody of the city into their hands. Scarcely, however, was the garrison withdrawn than a Protestant mob assembled, and began to plunder the houses of the Catholic gentry. Sarsfield's house was not only robbed, but totally destroyed. Increasing in violence, the frantic populace set fire to the suburbs, and threatened to burn the city. Fitzgerald, one of the Kildare family, who had assumed the government, with difficulty restrained these excesses, and sent an earnest request to William for a sufficient garrison. The tardiness of the king's movements after the battle of the Boyne exposed him to severe censures, which he by no means merited. Alarming accounts reached him of a general conspiracy against

his power throughout England and Scotland. He knew that a French fleet was at sea, and that a squadron of frigates had been detached to destroy his transports, and blockade his army in Ireland. Luckily for him, these frigates were met by James, who insisted on their returning with him to France, and thus saved his enemy from inevitable ruin. England had at this time ceased to be mistress of the sea. Her navy, united with that of Holland, had been severely defeated by the French off Beachy Head the day before the battle of the Boyne, and a French army was daily expected to land on her shores. But the schemes of Louis were disconcerted by the withdrawing of the frigates by James. He feared William's presence in England would render an invasion hopeless; and when he could not longer confine him to Ireland, laid aside the plan altogether.

Drogheda surrendered immediately after the battle of the Boyne, William having declared that he would give no quarter in case of resistance. It is scarcely credible that he seriously designed to repeat the barbarities of Cromwell; but it is a stain on his character that he even threatened such an atrocity. It is more to be lamented that he adopted the policy of the Anglo-Irish, and made this a war of confiscation. No pretence whatever can be discovered for treating the Irish then in arms as rebels. If James had abdicated the English throne, which clearly he did not, still he had never in any way resigned his right to Ireland. The Irish parliament had unanimously recognised him as their sovereign, and his authority had been implicitly obeyed in the greater part of the island. William, as he frequently showed, was duly impressed with these considerations; but he could not do justice even if he wished. He was at the mercy of the popular party in England, and they were taught by the Cromwellians that the Irish had rebelled against "the English interest" and

"Protestant ascendency"—two convenient phrases for their own vile and detestable oligarchy.

After a long pause William advanced to Dublin, and formed his camp at Finglas, within two miles of that city. He received the addresses of the clergy with his usual coldness; but gratified the rapacity of his adherents by issuing a commission of forfeitures. He also published a proclamation offering pardon and protection to such labourers, farmers, and artisans as would accept his protection and live in peace; but at the same time declaring that he would "leave the desperate leaders of the rebellion to the chances of war." In other words, denouncing robbery and murder against all the Irish noblemen and gentlemen who were in arms to support the cause of their rightful sovereign. The Irish leaders, if they had ever wavered, which is not improbable, were confirmed in the design of maintaining the war by this iniquitous denunciation. They fortified themselves in Limerick and Athlone; and being thus secured by the strong line of the Shannon, they boldly set their enemies at defiance.

The reduction of Athlone was intrusted to General Douglas, under whose command were placed ten regiments of infantry and five of cavalry. He advanced as if he was marching through an enemy's country. The protections which had been granted to the peasants who had submitted according to the terms of the royal proclamation were flagrantly disregarded; and the barbarities, which the general made scarcely an effort to check, completed the aversion of the Irish to the dominion of the Prince of Orange. Before proceeding to the west, William had reduced Wexford, Waterford, Clonmel, and Duncannon, with little difficulty. The fortifications of these towns had not been repaired since the former war; and as the Irish had determined to make their great stand behind the Shannon, no effort was made to save them. The news from England was at one time so

alarming, that William was on the point of returning thither, and committing the care of Ireland to his generals. He had, in fact, completed all the preparations for his departure, when more favourable intelligence arrived, and he resolved to remain and prosecute the Irish war.

On arriving before Athlone, Douglas found the part of the town which lay to the east of the Shannon destroyed, the bridge broken down, and the Irish town, as it was called, on the west bank, fortified with great care. Colonel Grace the governor, a descendant of Raymond le Gros, one of the original Norman invaders, had taken every possible precaution against a siege, and indeed had made the place nearly impregnable. Douglas, having arrived at the opposite side of the river, was surprised to find such formidable preparations made for his reception. He sent a summons into the town; but Grace, enraged at the accounts of the cruelties perpetrated by the English army, fired a pistol at the messenger, and bade him take that as his answer. Douglas resolved to undertake the siege in form; and having erected a battery, opened a heavy fire on the castle. It was returned with superior vigour; his works were ruined, and his best gunner killed. The cruelties his soldiers had perpetrated on the peasantry produced their natural effect. No provisions were brought into the camp; and the detached parties sent out to forage were cut off by parties of those unfortunate men whom they had themselves driven to desperation. The Protestants in the neighbourhood suffered most severely. Before the arrival of the English army, they had taken out protections from the Irish commanders, and had lived safely under them; but on the approach of those whom they deemed their friends, they resigned the benefit of these protections, and declared themselves subjects of William. Their reward was insult and spoliation. The English soldiers, or rather the foreign

adventurers of which the English army was composed, cared more for plunder than religion. With strict impartiality they robbed equally Protestants and Catholics, and made both the victims of their abominable depravity. There was this difference, however, between them—the Catholics could at any time find shelter within the Irish lines. The Protestants, having committed themselves by declaring for William, were forced to submit to whatever indignities his army chose to inflict; and they were numerous, grievous, and oppressive.

After having fired for several days on the castle to little purpose, it was determined by the English to force the passage of the river at Lanesborough, some miles farther north; but the detachment sent for this purpose found the pass already occupied by the enemy, and after a faint effort, it was forced to retire with considerable loss. A proposal was made to attempt a passage by a ford at some distance from the bridge; but this was found to be so well secured by some field-works which the Irish had erected on the bank, that the attempt was given up as desperate. In the mean time, a report was circulated that Sarsfield was advancing with fifteen thousand men to raise the siege. Douglas had no longer any hopes of success. He retired with great precipitation, abandoning his heavy baggage, and quitting the high road for fear of a pursuit. The miseries endured by this unfortunate army in their retreat were dreadful; but they were exceeded by those of the unfortunate Protestants, who had no other alternative but to accompany their oppressors.

Douglas found William advancing towards Limerick, fully persuaded that he was marching to speedy and certain conquest. He had learned, by his spies, the bitter jealousy that existed between the Irish and French, and that several of Louis's officers, already disgusted with the nature of their service, had returned home. The reports were true; but William

was no longer in a situation to avail himself of these circumstances. By his commission of forfeitures, he had rendered justice to the Irish nearly impossible, and left them no choice between war and a tame submission to unprincipled spoliation.

Trusting to the effect of the dissensions between the French and Irish, William made very inefficient preparations for the siege. He brought with him only a field-train, and ordered his heavy artillery to be sent after him from Dublin, under a sufficient escort. After driving in the outposts, the English army encamped within cannon-shot of the walls, and a regular summons was sent to the governor, Boileau. A soldierlike answer was returned. The French general wrote to the king's secretary, because he could not give the royal title to a person whom his master recognised only as Prince of Orange. He stated, that he was surprised at the summons, and that he hoped to acquire the good opinion of the prince, by a gallant defence of the fortress with which he had been intrusted. The spirit manifested by the governor was well supported by the garrison; and it was soon discovered that no hopes could be entertained of a speedy surrender. The siege was therefore undertaken in form.

Few besieging armies ever exhibited such a variety of tongues and nations, as that now assembled before Limerick;* and still fewer were less guided by any principle of morals or humanity. They plundered and burned the country in every direction, and renewed the scenes of brutal lust and barbarous murder which had been displayed at Athlone. As in the former instance the Protestants were the principal sufferers; for on the advance of the English

* It is said that the Danish regiments expressed great gratification at discovering, on the ground of their encampment, one of those circular mounds which are so common in Ireland, and still retain the name of Danish forts. They were proud at discovering such memorials of the time when the name of the sea-kings filled Western Europe with terror.

army, they had all resigned their Irish protections, and tendered their allegiance to William. For these men there was no retreat; they were obliged to submit to every indignity. The vigorous defence of the garrison filled William with anxiety. He sent orders to hasten his heavy artillery, and commanded his cavalry to scour the country, and repel the attacks of the peasants, who sought every opportunity of retaliating the wrongs they had suffered from the soldiers.

The news of William's situation was conveyed into Limerick by a French deserter; and Sarsfield immediately formed the daring plan of surprising the escort that was now on the road. For this purpose, he secretly led his troops over Thomond Bridge, and proceeding up the Shannon as far as Killaloe, crossed over into the county of Tipperary, and formed an ambush on the line of march which the escort should pursue. Manus O'Brien, a Protestant gentleman of Clare, brought intelligence of Sarsfield's march to William's camp; but the English officers laughed at him for his pains; and much precious time was lost before he could gain admittance to the royal presence. The king at once conjectured Sarsfield's object, and ordered Sir John Lanier to proceed with a detachment of five hundred horse, to protect the convoy. The precaution was taken too late.

The convoy arrived within seven miles of the rear of William's camp on a fine autumnal evening, without having discovered the appearance of an enemy during their entire journey. Here they halted in reckless security, not dreading an attack so near the main body of the army. Suddenly, Sarsfield and his cavalry rushed upon them; the wagoners and sentinels were cut to pieces in a moment; the others, startled from their sleep, half-armed, confused, and unacquainted with the country, were slaughtered almost without resistance. Sarsfield hasted to improve

his advantages; he loaded the cannon to the muzzles, and buried them deep in earth, heaping over them stones, carriages, and ammunition-wagons; he then laid a train to the whole, and drawing off his men, fired it on his retreat. The dreadful explosion was heard at the distance of several miles through the surrounding country, and was by many mistaken for a supernatural occurrence. Lanier and his party came up just in time to witness the work of destruction; they attempted to revenge it by an attack on Sarsfield's rear, but were so roughly handled that they were forced to retreat; and the whole Irish party returned into Limerick without loss.

William could not yet bring himself to raise the siege; two of his cannon had escaped without injury, and with these he determined, if possible, to effect a breach. After an incessant fire of several days, the wall at length began to yield; and by perseverance, a breach twelve yards in length was made. A gallant storming-party was formed; five hundred British grenadiers, supported by the Dutch guards, and some English and Brandenburg regiments, drew up under cover of their intrenchments, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, were ready to start on their hazardous enterprise. These preparations had not escaped the notice of the garrison; the fire from the walls, and that from the English batteries, ceased; a perfect stillness reigned in the camp and in the city; there was a brief space of deep and awful silence—no unsuitable prelude to the work of death and destruction. The day was intensely hot; the sun shone with unusual brightness in a cloudless sky; not a breeze rippled the broad expanse of the Shannon; nature seemed to have presented all the images of tranquillity, as dissuasives from the carnage that was about to ensue. Three cannon, shot in rapid succession, gave the fatal signal; the grenadiers leaped from their intrenchments, and rushed towards the breach, firing their muskets and hurling

their grenades; the Irish opened on them from the walls a perfect hail-storm of shot; the English batteries answered with a heavy fire, to divert the attention of the garrison; the storming party hurried on, and were soon engaged, hand to hand, with their enemies at the outside of the breach. The grenadiers forced their way, and part of them actually entered the town; but the Irish closed their ranks behind them, and effectually checked the progress of the rest. These brave men were nearly all destroyed. The citizens, in overwhelming crowds, fell upon them; and only a few, desperately wounded, succeeded in cutting a way back to their companions. The breach was again assailed, and again defended, with the same determined spirit. Crowds of women mingled with the soldiers, and fought as bravely as the men. They reproached William's soldiers with the nameless abominations of which they had been guilty, and vowed, in their own nervous language, to be torn in piecemeal, before they would submit to the power of such wretches. For three hours this furious contest was maintained with equal obstinacy. A regiment of Brandenburghers seized possession of an Irish battery; but at the moment that they were about to improve their advantage, the magazine took fire, and they were all blown into the air. William now saw that success was hopeless. He therefore ordered a retreat, after having lost two thousand of his best men.

It is said, that the English soldiers were anxious to make a second assault; but the king clearly saw that it was absolutely necessary to retreat. He, therefore, disarmed his batteries, and led away his diminished army, accompanied by a melancholy troop of Protestants, who could no longer remain in their former homes, and were wholly without protection, from the indiscriminate ravages of the licentious soldiery. The excesses of William's army during this retreat can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of

war; but the imputation that the king himself countenanced their cruelties is certainly groundless. William's was not a perfect character; but he does not appear to have been capable of the monstrous atrocities with which he has been charged by his enemies;—atrocities that would never have been credited, but for the horrid massacre at Glenco. Having conducted the troops to Clonmel, William hastened to Duncannon and embarked for England, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark. He intrusted the command of the army to Count Solmes and General Ginckle. Lord Sidney and Mr. Coningsby were appointed lords-justices, with a blank in their commission for the insertion of a third name.

CHAPTER XIII.

Marlborough's and Ginckle's Winter Campaign.

We have already mentioned the jealousies that subsisted between William and those who had raised him to the throne. National animosity increased this discontent. The English felt that the Dutch had succeeded to their place among the leading powers of Europe. They deemed that they had become a mere appendage to Holland, and were unable to conceal their mortification. The appointment of foreigners to all the important military commands in Ireland was felt as a reproach upon English courage and conduct. Even the successes of the king himself afforded no pleasure to the people, for they could not cease to regard him as a foreigner. The head of the powerful party that adopted and propagated these sentiments was the Princess Anne, whom her brother-in-law had unwisely treated with

neglect and contumely. She laboured to raise up an English hero, who might prove a worthy rival of William; and such she found in the Earl of Marlborough, with whose countess she was united in the bonds of a most intimate friendship. Marlborough proposed to the English government to undertake the conquest of Cork and Kinsale, and thus complete the reduction of the eastern coast of Ireland. William, though aware that this proposal was designed for his own mortification, could not venture to resist, and yielded a reluctant assent.

It was so late in the year as the twenty-first of September, when Marlborough arrived in the harbour of Cork, where little or no preparations had been made for resistance. He landed almost without opposition, and marched straight towards the city by the passage road. He was soon after joined by Sgravenmore, whom Ginckle had detached to his assistance, with nine hundred cavalry. These were followed by four thousand infantry, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, who appears to have been instigated by William to claim a share in the expedition. Wirtemberg, as the superior in rank, claimed the chief command; but Marlborough insisted that the armament had been confided to himself, and would not allow his right to be disputed. After a long dispute, a formal reconciliation was effected by the intervention of their friends. It was agreed, that each should command in turn on alternate days. Marlborough took his turn first, and gave the word "Wirtemberg." The prince felt the force of this politeness; and when he took the command, the word was "Marlborough." But, notwithstanding this reciprocity of compliments, their mutual jealousy continued unabated.

The siege of Cork was an enterprise of more importance than difficulty. The city is built on a marshy plain, surrounded and commanded by hills. The walls were in a sad state of disrepair; and the

castle of Shandon, by which the city is commanded on the northern side, was so dilapidated, that it was at once resigned to the besiegers. The garrison had therefore no hope of final success: but they determined to make such a defence as would entitle them to favourable terms of capitulation. The batteries which Marlborough had planted on the south side of the river soon made a practicable breach; but the assault was by no means void of hazard. Between the camp and the city a branch of the Lee, fordable only at low water, runs; and beyond that lay a marsh, now built over, which served as a counterscarp to the fortifications. When the breach had been effected, the governor offered to submit on the same conditions that William had usually granted to the Irish garrisons, namely, that the troops should march out with their arms, and be conveyed to Limerick. Marlborough, anxious to show that William had been too lenient on such occasions, peremptorily insisted that the garrison should become prisoners of war. Wirtemberg as strenuously recommended compliance with the governor's demands. While the generals wasted time in this dispute, the tide returned, the ford was no longer passable, and the firing was renewed at both sides. When the breach had been further enlarged, orders were given that a storming party should be formed. Several English officers volunteered their services on the occasion, and, among others, the Duke of Grafton, the most respectable of the natural children of Charles II.

The English troops bravely pressed through the river, and formed a lodgment on the marsh, not far from the walls. Here the Duke of Grafton was killed. The spot where he fell is still called Grafton Alley, now nearly in the heart of the city. Before any further progress could be made, the garrison renewed their parley, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that persons and property should be respected. The ink with which the

capitulation had been signed was not yet dry, when it was flagrantly violated in every particular. A mob of the lower order of Protestants assembled, and began to plunder the houses, and ill treat the persons of the Catholic citizens. The army was not slow in imitating the contagious example, and a dreadful scene of licentious confusion ensued. The governor was wounded; the Earls of Tyrone and Clancarty could scarcely escape with their lives. Marlborough and Wirtemberg strenuously exerted themselves to put an end to these disgraceful proceedings; they succeeded with great difficulty, but not before several persons had been severely hurt, and immense mischief done to property.

From Cork Marlborough advanced to Kinsale. At his approach the garrison abandoned the town, and retired to the castles called Old Fort and Charles Fort. The former of these was easily taken by storm. The latter made a formidable resistance, and Marlborough was obliged to grant the governor the terms which he had previously refused to the garrison of Cork. It is suspected also, that he made use of golden arguments to persuade the governor to a speedy surrender.

The merits of this brief campaign were not very great; but its successful termination, contrasted with William's disgraceful retreat from Limerick, gratified the pride of the English, and threw the nation into a transport of joy. Thenceforward Marlborough became the favourite hero of his countrymen, and acquired the power of pursuing that brilliant career which has rendered his name immortal.

The greater part of the French auxiliaries were withdrawn from Ireland, in consequence of the misrepresentations of James, who declared that the further protraction of the war was useless. How great are the accumulated wrongs that the Irish have suffered from the Stuarts! The first James robbed the natives of Ulster of their property, on account of a

conspiracy that never existed, and for which, even if it had existed, they could not be answerable. The first Charles attempted a still more unprincipled spoliation in Connaught, and gave the nation as a sacrifice to glut the fanatic puritans, in order to divert their attention from himself. The second Charles joined in the robbery of those who had devoted their lives to his service, and gave their estates to the Cromwellian adventurers. And now, the second James having prevented them from making an honourable peace, laboured to destroy their chance of waging a successful war, and as far as he was concerned, devoted them to ruin.

The Irish witnessed the departure of the French without regret. Confident in their own resources, and relying on the abilities of their favourite general, Sarsfield, they still hoped for victory, and looked forward, not with ill-grounded confidence, to the final result. Ginckle, after the surrender of Cork, determined to harass the Irish by a winter campaign, and despatched a party of his troops to subdue the western part of the county of Cork, and the county of Kerry. The plan completely failed. His troops were unable to force the mountain-passes, and were driven back with considerable loss. The Irish, on their part, were defeated in an attempt to surprise the garrison of Mullingar.

But the English suffered most from the operations of the irregular troops. Sarsfield's cavalry swept the plains round their posts, surprised their detachments, intercepted their convoys, beat up their quarters. Numbers of the peasantry, driven from their homes by the violence of the soldiers, formed themselves into troops of banditti, called from the pikes with which they were armed, *rapparees*. They laid waste the country within the English lines, and carried their plunder in safety to their fastnesses in the bogs and mountains, their cunning and agility rendering all pursuit ineffectual. To oppose these, the

government authorized the organization of Protestant rapparees, and thus increased the calamity; for the new corps of robbers was employed more in securing plunder for themselves than in checking the inroads of the Irish. Ginckle began to despair. He wrote to the king, explaining his situation, and declaring his belief, that, if conciliatory measures were adopted, and equitable terms offered to the Irish, the war might easily be terminated; but that the dread of confiscation compelled the Irish gentry to persevere in resistance even against their will. The king himself entertained the same opinions, and would willingly have granted the terms which he had originally offered Tyrconnel; but that faction known by the name of the Old Castle Party, which has ever been the bane of Ireland, possessed more power in the cabinet than the king himself, and frustrated his wise and benevolent intentions.

The remembrance of the game of the Cromwellian forfeitures was strong in the recollection of those persons. To win estates for themselves, by the same abominable means, was the object of their highest ambition. They played with sure cards; the hazard and danger of the war fell on the army. England bore the entire expense: they trusted to monopolize all the fruits of victory. To those who remember how many attempts have been made, within the memory of man, to repeat the same game, there can be little necessity of furnishing any proofs of this infamous policy; but to others, the following extract from a letter written to Ginckle, by the Irish secretary of state, will disclose some part of that mystery of iniquity which was sanctioned under the pretence of its being necessary to support "the Protestant interest."

"I did very much hope," he says, "that some favourable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the cost of a field-battle. *But I see our civil officers regard more adding*

50l. a year to the English proprietary in this kingdom than saving England the expense of 50,000*l.* I promise myself, it is for the king's, the allies', and England's interest to remit most, or all the forfeitures, so that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their majesties' obedience."

Unfortunately for the interests both of England and Ireland, these prudent counsels were defeated. A long campaign ensued, in which the entire English interest was several times on the very brink of ruin, and was only saved by accidents so far beyond the calculations of ordinary events, that they might almost be deemed providential interpositions. Ireland was delivered over to the government of a merciless faction, whose boast was, that they crushed her spirit, wasted her resources, and baffled the bounties of Providence. Nor did England escape with impunity for having, though ignorantly, countenanced this injustice. The Irish war laid the foundation of the national debt, which has been so long a heavy and almost intolerable burden on her industry and resources; for in the dispensations of Heaven, there is a punishment for the sins of nations as well as individuals. We have bestowed merited censure on the act of forfeiture passed by James's parliament, and we must not withhold condemnation from the unprincipled confiscations sanctioned by the government of William. From a report presented to the English House of Commons, it appears that the forfeitures made by the government of King William, stripped three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one persons of lands, amounting to more than one million and sixty thousand acres, valued, in that day, at three millions three hundred and nineteen thousand nine hundred and forty-three pounds sterling—a prize well worthy the attention of the "exclusively loyal," as they termed themselves, especially when, without any risk of their own, they could contend for it with the blood of foreigners and the wealth of England.

The mode in which the lords-justices and the "castle party" proceeded is an edifying example of the mode by which the forms of law have been so often prostituted to sanction injustice in Ireland. They indicted the Irish gentlemen who possessed any estates of high treason in the several counties over which they had jurisdiction; and then removed them all by *certiorari* to the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. By this ingenious contrivance those who were to be robbed lost all opportunity of making their defence; indeed, in most cases, they were ignorant of their being accused; and the Irish government was saved the trouble of showing how the Irish people could be guilty of high treason for supporting the cause of their rightful monarch against a foreign invader. They felt conscious that this was a matter not to be proved very easily; and we must give them due credit for the prudent modesty of their silence.

During the winter rumours of plots and conspiracies were rife in Dublin. They served as an excuse for issuing some very severe proclamations against Papists; and many of them, no doubt, were invented for the purpose. The contemporary pamphlets furnish us with some strange instances of clumsy fabrications, which in that day met ready credence, and with not a few melancholy examples of the atrocities to which fear, the most cruel of the passions, hurried men that would under other circumstances have been patterns of honour and humanity.

The proclamations of the lords-justices are precious specimens of Anglo-Irish legislation. The first declared that the Popish inhabitants of counties should be assessed to make good the damages done to Protestant properties within the said counties. This wise plan of making the innocent suffer for the guilty is still preserved, but without the religious distinction. It has enabled some very honest individuals to convert old houses into new, and sell

stacks of bad corn at the price of good, by seizing the golden opportunity of real or pretended insurrection to fire one's own house or barn. The second edict declared that no one should be protected who had a son in the enemy's quarters—an ingenious conversion of the old "punishing the sins of the fathers upon the children," by making the parent answerable for his offspring, which has not since been thought worthy of imitation. A third proclamation ordered that no more than ten Catholics should assemble in a body; and sentenced the priest of the parish where such an assembly should be held to transportation.

Ginckle was honoured with the intense hatred of the castle faction, for his resistance to their dreadful system of slaughter and confiscation, which, in plainer terms, he looked upon as nothing better than murder and robbery. He solicited the lords-justices to issue a proclamation, promising protection and security of person and property to the Irish, on their submission; but the desire of forfeitures was too strong; they encountered his request with equivocation and delay; and, finally, answered him with a flat refusal. Fearing, however, the royal displeasure, they graciously permitted him to issue a proclamation in *his own* name, offering to grant *reasonable terms* to all in arms on their immediate submission. The Irish were not such fools as to be duped by this illusive promise; they saw at once how matters stood, and resolved to persevere in their resistance.

At this time most of the Irish leaders were sincerely anxious for an accommodation; they were disgusted with James, and justly indignant at the treatment they had received from the court of France; they entertained, besides, a high respect for the character of William and his military officers, whom they never confounded with the malignant Cromwellians. But in this, as in several other instances,

a wretched faction stood between the throne and the people, depriving the sovereign of the allegiance of valuable subjects, and robbing the nation of the blessings that flow from a paternal government.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Siege of Athlone—The Battle of Aughrim.

A. D. 1691.—The defeat of the English army at Athlone and Limerick convinced Louis that his ally had too soon despaired of Ireland; and, anxious to protract the war, he sent thither some officers, a small sum of money, and a good supply of military stores. In adherence to the line of miserable policy which he had previously pursued, he only made such exertions as would serve to protract the war, and could not be persuaded to send such a force as must have driven the English army to their ships. Ten thousand men, a force which the French king could well afford, would have given him possession of Ireland; but, with unusual and unwise caution, he refused to risk a sufficient armament until it was too late. The wretched James could not resist the opportunity of insulting his devoted subjects, even in this the crisis of their fate. Though the retrieval of his affairs was owing to the exertions of the gallant Sarsfield, he would not intrust him with the command of the army, but conferred it on St. Ruth, a French general of some reputation. Such an insult to the favourite hero of the Irish was poorly compensated by the title of Earl of Lucan which he conferred on him. Sarsfield was disgusted; and the conduct of St. Ruth by no means tended to sooth his irritated feelings. The French general was un-

questionably possessed of great military talents; but, as unquestionably, he greatly overrated their importance. From the very outset he seriously believed that the terror of his name would be sufficient to conquer Ginckle; and he did not discover his mistake before this stupid vanity had nearly ruined his cause. The manners of St. Ruth were far from conciliating; he treated the Irish generals with supercilious contempt, and, when they presumed to offer advice, pursued a line of conduct opposite to that which they recommended, from a pure spirit of obstinacy. To the Irish ladies he behaved in that style of affected gallantry then fashionable at the French court, but which the native Irish have ever regarded with detestation. The time that should have been spent in preparing for the campaign was wasted by St. Ruth in balls, festivals, and idle reviews. A chief cause of his negligence was his having found the Irish army so much better organized than he expected, and his firm persuasion that the line of the Shannon was impregnable. Had he paid the slightest attention to its defence, he might, behind it, have defied all the strength of England. The Irish officers could scarcely suppress their indignation at "being thus pestered with a popinjay;" and in some of their letters written about this period, we find them bitterly complaining of the hard fate which bound them to the service of a monarch that they despised, because the sovereign to whom they were anxious to tender their allegiance could not in return secure them in life and estate.

Ginckle's preparations for the ensuing campaign showed how deeply he was impressed with its importance; he obtained considerable reinforcements from England, an additional train of artillery, and an abundant supply of military stores; he drew in most of his garrisons, and even brought all his soldiers from Dublin, to strengthen his army for the ap-

proaching struggle. The lords-justices and the castle faction complained bitterly of being left thus exposed to danger; but Ginckle had too much reason to be offended by their obstinate adherence to their plan of protracting the war for the sake of confiscations to regard their remonstrances; and would probably not have been sorry to learn that the Wicklow mountaineers had rushed upon Dublin in his absence, and fairly removed for ever those great obstacles to an honourable peace. The Irish garrisons east of the Shannon were easily subdued; but the treatment of the prisoners presented a question of some little difficulty. It had not yet been settled whether the Irish were enemies or rebels; and, consequently, it was not determined whether their lives should be spared when they were taken. Ginckle in most but not in all cases leaned to a merciful decision; but his Cromwellian auxiliaries were never troubled with any scruples. Though the Irish were not rebels against the king, they were rebels against their tyrannical oligarchy; and therefore they hanged them on every occasion without ceremony. Such has been the conduct of the same parties in every subsequent instance. The troops of the line sent to quell any of those insurrections against local misgovernment, which have been, with strange perversion of language, denominated "Irish rebellions," have generally behaved to the peasantry with the utmost tenderness; but in no case has there been even the semblance of mercy in the conduct of the Irish militia and yeomanry.

Contrary to the advice of the Irish leaders, St. Ruth had fortified the English town of Athlone on the eastern bank of the Shannon. It had been resigned as defenceless in the former campaign by Grace; and the imperfect repairs which it now received were insufficient to sustain the heavy fire of the English batteries. On the 18th of June, Ginckle appeared before Athlone, and advanced towards the

town, driving in the Irish skirmishing parties which had been sent to annoy rather than interrupt his march. He opened a heavy fire from a battery of ten guns on the English town, and soon effected a practicable breach. After a fierce resistance the place was taken by assault; but the garrison retreated into the Irish town, and broke down the bridge behind them.

The loss which he had sustained in obtaining even this partial success filled the English general with anxiety. He immediately sent for additional reinforcements; and in the mean time erected several batteries, from which he poured an overwhelming fire on the devoted Irish town of Athlone. Notwithstanding their vast inferiority in weight of metal, the Irish returned the fire with great spirit. Night brought no respite to the toils of either besiegers or besieged. It was midsummer; the weather was singularly fine, and in the clear sky the extreme of evening almost touched the morning's dawn. Athlone was soon a heap of ruins. Tower, battlement, and rampart, fell in succession before the storm of shot and shells incessantly hailed from the English batteries. But the garrison retired not from these ruins, and defended the shapeless mass of broken fortifications as fiercely as if they had been perfect defences. An attempt was made to turn the Irish position, by forcing a passage at Lanesborough; but the pass was too well guarded to render success at all probable. Ginckle saw that his only hope was to force a passage by the bridge. He erected a breastwork and covered gallery on his side of the bridge, and directed all the fire of his batteries on the works which the Irish had erected at their extremity. The heat of the weather made the wattles and woodwork at the Irish side as dry as tinder. They took fire by the bursting of a shell; and under cover of the smoke the English workmen hasted to lay beams and planks across the broken arch. The work was

almost completed when a sergeant and ten men, covered with complete armour, sprung over the ruins of the Irish breastwork, and began to destroy the newly-formed passage. For one moment the English paused in admiration of the heroic attempt; in the next the batteries swept them from the world. A second party, similarly accoutred, succeeded, and completed the destruction of the work under the incessant discharge from the English lines, and two of them returned to the town alive. Nine days elapsed before Ginckle was ready to make a second attempt. The Irish received information of his designs, and were prepared for his reception. The attack had but just commenced when the grenades, thrown by the Irish, set fire to the English breastwork; and before the flames could be extinguished all the works, galleries, and pontoons, which Ginckle had so laboriously prepared, were burned to ashes.

Saint Ruth was intoxicated with success. He removed the brave defenders of Athlone, and supplied their place with inferior regiments. He issued invitations to all the gentry in the neighbourhood, and gave them a splendid entertainment, followed by a ball, in his camp, as if there was no longer any reason to dread danger. In the English camp there was certainly great consternation; but there was, at the same time, that determined valour which sinks not under any adverse circumstances, and derives the means of victory from defeat itself. Ginckle convened another council, where it was warmly debated whether the army should retreat or make a second assault; for it was impossible to continue the siege longer, as the surrounding country was exhausted, and the army could obtain neither provisions nor forage. Ginckle's opinion was for immediate retreat; but he was persuaded by the majority of his officers to make a second attempt by fording the river on the following morning. The news of St. Ruth's absurd confidence, which he learned by means of his

spies, encouraged the English general; and to increase it he began to withdraw his guns from the batteries, as if preparing for immediate departure. The Irish officers were not deceived by these appearances. They entreated Saint Ruth to be on his guard against another attack. He laughed at their cautions, and said that the English would not dare to attempt it. Sarsfield coolly answered that the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage. The French general made a contumelious reply, and Sarsfield, justly offended, withdrew.

To avoid any appearance by which the enemy might be alarmed, it was resolved to make the attempt at the ordinary hour of relieving guard. The signal was the tolling of the church-bell; and at the first summons, the English soldiers, headed by all the chief officers, plunged into the stream. Their passage was nearly effected before the garrison recovered from their surprise; and when the Irish did open their fire, it was weak, and badly directed. The English pushed forward, and gained the bank before the regiments in Athlone could stand to their arms. In the mean time, Ginckle repaired the broken arch, and poured over an overwhelming force without interruption. In less than half an hour, Athlone was lost irrecoverably; and St. Ruth was roused from his slumbers just in time to learn the irremediable loss occasioned by his presumptuous folly. The garrison retreated to the Irish army, half armed and half clad. The troops had been completely surprised, for the greater part were asleep when the attack was made. The annalists of the time record with surprise, that Ginckle would not allow his soldiers to kill the sleeping men; and some bigots were greatly scandalized at the respect which the general expressed for the officers and soldiers of this gallant garrison. He learned from them, that the Irish suspected James and Louis of an intention to unite Ireland to France, and that

they would much rather be connected with England, if their rights were respected. "It is your fault," said they, "that you have so many enemies. We are sensible of our unhappiness in depending on the French; but you have made it necessary for us. We must, and will, and are preparing to fight it out."

His narrow escape from utter ruin made Ginckle anxious to terminate the war on equitable conditions; and after infinite difficulty, he obtained a proclamation from the lords-justices, far different from any they had previously issued. It set forth the greater blessings that Ireland would enjoy under the dominion of England, rather than of France; it offered a free pardon to all who should surrender within three weeks; security in person and property to all officers and governors of garrisons, with a promise of equal or superior rank under William's government; and a free exercise of religion, with such security as the king and the Irish parliament could devise.

The French laboured strenuously to destroy the effect of this proclamation. They declared, that Louis had determined to make more vigorous exertions in behalf of his Irish allies than he had hitherto done, and that he was preparing to send a powerful fleet and army to their assistance. This was in fact true; but the hope of succour would scarcely have overcome the disinclination of the Irish to unite with the French, had not the efforts of Louis's friends been ably seconded by the castle faction in Dublin. The underlings of administration exerted themselves on this, as on countless other occasions, to defeat the wise and beneficent measures of their superiors. The misgovernment of Ireland has scarcely ever been owing to the different English noblemen and statesmen who filled the office of chief governor or chief secretary. It was owing to the organized faction of their inferiors, who had acquired a thorough

knowledge of all the tricks and chicanery of office, from their long monopoly of place and power. On this occasion, their avarice and greedy desire after forfeiture, was further stimulated by their pride. They were, for the most part, men of mean birth and obscure parentage, the sons of those who had been elevated to fortune by the strange chances of the Cromwellian war; and they felt that they would be humbled, even in their own eyes, if compelled to sit on the same bench with the genuine aristocracy of Ireland, whether of Norman or native descent. The representations of this vile faction led the Irish to believe that the government was insincere in its offers, and they therefore resolved to abide the chances of the field.

After the loss of Athlone, St. Ruth retired with his army to the hill of Kilcommeden, in the county of Roscommon, and prepared to decide the fate of Ireland by a pitched battle. The position which he selected was truly formidable; the left was protected by a small stream running down through abrupt hills, and beyond this lay an extensive morass, through which there was only one narrow road. The passage was commanded by the ruinous castle of Aughrim, and might easily have been made impregnable. St. Ruth believed that it was so already. The bog extended in front of the Irish position to the right, where there were some hills opening to more level ground. A little in advance stood the house and grounds of Urachree, which were occupied by a party of horse.

The English army prepared to attack this position on the twelfth of July at noon. The battle commenced on the part of Ginckle by an attempt to force the Pass of Urachree. The Danish horse, to whom the service was intrusted, broke when led to the charge; two English regiments of dragoons were successively beaten in the same attempt; and the Earl of Portland, whose regiment next advanced,

found that the Irish had left Urachree, and taken a better position behind the stream, which flanked their right wing. Ginckle's mind was shaken by the spirit shown in the defence of this post. He drew off his men, and summoned a council of war. It was at first resolved to delay the battle until the following morning; but anxiety for the result, and an impatience of anxious suspense, induced the leaders to change their resolution. In consequence of this delay, the engagement did not commence until half-past four in the evening, when Ginckle pushed some battalions of infantry over the ground that had been already so well contested. The rivulet was soon crossed; but the English were forced to sustain a close and heavy fire from the Irish, posted behind hedges that intersected the hill. Between these hedges the Irish had cut lines of communication; so that when they retired, the English infantry advancing in pursuit were exposed to destructive volleys on both flanks, and forced to give ground in their turn. The manifested intention of the English general to force his right, induced St. Ruth to bring up fresh troops from the centre; and Ginckle seized the opportunity to cross the bog, and attack the front of the Irish position. Four regiments were ordered on this service; and they waded through the morass with great difficulty. From the enemy they met no opposition, until they had reached the foot of the hill, when the Irish pursued the same plan that had been already successful on the right, firing from behind hedges, and retiring until the English became entangled in the difficult ground, when they suddenly poured in a close and destructive fire. The English recoiled and made a stand at the edge of the bog. The Irish followed up their success by a furious charge. The four regiments were broken and driven across the bog, quite to the muzzles of their cannon. Most of the principal officers remained prisoners. Two other divisions had crossed the

bog; but they maintained their position, and could not be tempted to advance. Completely successful on the right and centre, St. Ruth, in the fulness of his joy, exclaimed, "Now will I drive the English to the walls of Dublin!"—a boast which the special interposition of Providence alone prevented him from accomplishing. Ginckle's last hope depended on the success of Talmash's cavalry on the left; but that leader had to contend with no ordinary difficulties. The pass by the castle of Aughrim would only admit two horsemen abreast; and it was commanded by a small battery, which, however, was badly served. Just as St. Ruth was about to charge the divisions that still maintained their ground, his attention was directed to Talmash's movement on his left. He expressed great admiration of their valour, and regret for their certain destruction. He ordered the cavalry to be brought up to attack them as they emerged from the defile, and rode himself to direct the fire of the battery. Ten minutes more would have completed the ruin of the English army. An attack, however weak on Talmash's detachment, must have sealed its ruin. The Irish horse were far more numerous. They had never yet been beaten in any encounter; and now, had they rushed on the English dragoons, making their way through a narrow defile, and broken by the fire of the battery, the event could not have been doubtful. At this critical moment, St. Ruth fell by a ball from the English cannon beyond the bog. The battery ceased firing—the cavalry halted, waiting for orders; and Talmash, seizing the unhoped for opportunity, galloped without interruption to take a share in the contest at the centre.

It is impossible to discover the circumstances that left the Irish without a commander after the fall of St. Ruth. Sarsfield was probably not in the field; for his indignation, after the loss of Athlone, led him into a serious quarrel with the French general.

No other leader would venture to undertake the direction, and the consequence of course was fatal. The appearance of Talmash so unexpectedly was mistaken by both armies for a token of victory. The Irish, having heard a confused account of some great calamity on the left, believed that wing totally defeated. The English of course thought that their general must have obtained some signal advantage, before he could have penetrated so far. The remaining English divisions now forced their way over the morass, and the Irish began to retreat. At first their movements were performed with great regularity; but as each troop and battalion now acted independently, their evolutions soon interfered with each other. Cavalry became mingled with infantry; and before the evening closed, their retreat was a complete rout. They were pursued with merciless slaughter. Before the death of St. Ruth, the Irish lost scarcely a man, while the loss of the British had been very severe. The tide of fortune was now turned; for the Irish were cut down in crowds, without attempting any resistance. The number of the British killed and wounded was over two thousand; that of the Irish exceeded seven thousand.

Ginckle was not much intoxicated by his victory at Aughrim. He felt that it was nothing better than a lucky escape; and, from the spirit displayed by the enemy, feared that the termination of the war was still at a distance. Neither were the Irish so greatly dispirited as might have been expected. They felt that victory had been wrested from them by one of those chances which baffle ordinary calculation, and did not yet despair of success in another field.

CHAPTER XV.

The Siege and Treaty of Limerick.

GINCKLE, after his victory at Aughrim, acted with a vigour and promptitude which proved him worthy of success. He sent out detachments to secure the Castle of Trim,* and several other small but im-

*Independent of historical association, there are few scenes, even in this land of romance, more strikingly picturesque and beautiful than the ruins of Trim Castle.

Trim, Co. Meath, is situated on the Boyne, about twenty-two miles north-west from Dublin. It was formerly a walled town of considerable strength, but is now chiefly remarkable for some interesting remains of antiquity, and for being the place whence sundry absurd and tyrannical acts of parliament were promulgated during the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. Among those enacted during the reign of the former monarch, one required the native Irish to shave the upper lip at least every fortnight, under pain of confiscation of property; while Act 60 Edward IV. 1465, declares that it shall be lawful for *all manner of men* who may find thieves robbing by night or by day, "or going or coming to rob or steal, having no faithful man of good name and fame, in English apparel, in their company," forthwith to kill such, without even the form of a trial, and to cut off their heads; which heads, on being brought to the portreeve of the town of Trim, were by him to be fixed on a spear, and displayed upon the walls of the castle!

The early history of Trim Castle has not come down to us. It is supposed to have been erected by William Peppard soon after the first invasion of the English; but, falling into decay, it was rebuilt about the beginning of the 13th century. During the expedition of Richard II. to Ireland in 1399, Trim Castle, then considered a place of the greatest strength within the English pale, received as prisoners within its walls the sons of the Dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster, tidings having reached the monarch of those insurrectionary movements of the latter which terminated in the subversion of the house of Anjou, and the elevation of the rival branch to the crown of England. In 1423, Mortimer, earl of Meath and Ulster, who then occupied Trim Castle, died there of the plague.

For nearly two centuries this place of strength is scarcely mentioned; but during the troublous reign of Charles I. it again acquires a degree of notice, from the following circumstance:—In 1641, it was taken possession of by the insurgents; but its fortification appears to have fallen so much into decay, that the ruinous stone wall by which it was surrounded, afforded no protection to its occupants. Accordingly, Sir Charles Coote, whose name is no notorious in this eventful period, easily forced a passage, and retook the castle. During the night, however, he

portant posts, while he advanced with the main body of the army against Galway. That he was not intoxicated with success, appears from the favourable conditions which he granted to the several garrisons that he captured. In all cases, he allowed them to proceed to Limerick with their arms and baggage; and when the garrison of Banaher preferred laying down their arms and returning home, he presented five shillings to each soldier, as an encouragement to persevere in their peaceful intentions. There was but a mere appearance of attack and defence at Galway. O'Donnell, who commanded a body of the irregular Irish, had long since sold himself to the British general. Lord Dillon, the governor of Galway, could not depend upon the garrison. The civic authorities were anxious to avoid the perils of a siege; and Ginckle was eager to terminate the war on any terms, before the arrival of French auxiliaries would enable his opponents to try once more their fortunes in the field. D'Usson, the French commander in Galway, and the English general Talmash, were both opposed to terms of accommodation; the former, because he hoped that Louis would soon send the promised reinforcements: the latter because he had become tainted with the lust of forfeiture, that

was silently attacked by about 3000 of the enemy. The sentinel sounded the alarm; and Sir Charles, who, on such expeditions never went to bed, was instantly on horseback, and at the head of only seventeen troopers, charged on the assailants. They were instantly thrown into confusion and compelled to fly, ignorant of the numbers by whom they were attacked; but pursuing them unguardedly in the dark, Sir Charles received a mortal wound, whether from his own followers or the enemy, was never ascertained. He was buried in Dublin—"floods of English tears," saith the chronicler, "accompanying him to the grave."

In 1647 Trim Castle was strongly fortified, and occupied by Colonel Fenwick with a regiment of foot and some troops of horse. It was besieged on the part of the confederates by General Preston, but soon after relieved by Colonel Jones. In 1649, however, Lord Inchiquin succeeded in driving out the parliamentarians. In 1650 the Royalists held possession of Trim Castle, but were finally compelled to surrender to Cromwell's generals, Hewson, Reynolds, and Sir Theophilus Jones.

bane of England's civil and military officers in Ireland. The lovers of peace prevailed. It was agreed that Galway should be surrendered on the conditions of a "general pardon of political offences, the continuation of the civic authorities in their respective offices, security of property and estates, and perfect freedom of religious worship." These terms were strictly observed by Ginckle,—a circumstance that would not be recorded to his honour in any other history, but which must be mentioned here as a singular instance of good faith; for on every other occasion William's officers flagrantly and shamelessly violated articles of capitulation.

Ginckle remained some time at Galway, hoping that the Irish at Limerick would open negotiations for terminating the war. He knew that the curse of divided counsels was upon this their last stronghold; and he chose rather to trust to intrigue, than hazard the dangers of a doubtful siege. The Irish were now divided into two parties; one anxious to submit if favourable terms could be obtained; the other relying on the assurances of France, that a fresh supply of men and munitions of war should be sent, by which they might retrieve their former losses. The inexplicable delay of Louis at this important crisis daily weakened the latter party, which would indeed have been unable to subsist, if it had not been supported by the spirit and enterprise of the gallant Sarsfield. During these discussions, Tyrconnel, who still held the empty title of lord-lieutenant, died, apparently of a broken heart. He had long survived all his political importance, and was harassed by the muttered reproaches of those who blamed his original inactivity for all the calamities which had overtaken his cause. He was succeeded by three lords-justices, Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden, who were all inclined to submission; but were determined to make no composition which did not include the general body of the Catholics.

The memory of William's failure at the former siege of Limerick seems to have produced a strong effect on Ginckle's mind. He proceeded with a slowness and caution which almost savoured of timidity. King William and the lords-justices were now alarmed with the news of the active preparations making in France for the relief of Ireland, and wrote to exhort Ginckle to bring the war to a speedy termination. Notwithstanding these exhortations, it was not until the 25th of August that the English army appeared before the town. At the same time a fleet entered the Shannon, and came as far up the river as it could venture with safety.

The general occupied nearly the same ground which the king had maintained in the former siege; but with less judgment he erected his batteries against the English town, which was impregnable. For several days the cannon and mortars fired heavy and incessant discharges of shot and shells, without producing any decisive effect. The city indeed had been several times set on fire; but the flames had been easily extinguished, without causing much annoyance to the enemy. The inhabitants and a large portion of the Irish army, especially the cavalry, had encamped on the Clare side of the river, and, as the town was only invested on three sides, they suffered no inconveniences from the siege. The detached operations on both sides were of little importance. Levison, detached by Ginckle, subdued part of Kerry; Sligo, and some other towns submitted to English generals on the same conditions that had been granted to Galway. On the other hand, the *rapparees* continued to cut off stragglers and intercept the provisions of the English army. Finding that his present batteries were ineffective, Ginckle erected another towards the river near King's Island. After a heavy fire of two or three days a breach appeared; but when preparations were made for storming, it was discovered that the attempt could

not be hazarded without risking the destruction of the entire army. The English general was almost reduced to despair; and issued orders for repairing the fortifications of Kilmallock, whither he resolved to retire, and take up his winter quarters. The offers of a traitor named Clifford induced him to postpone his retreat.

From the very beginning of the siege, it was evident that the town could not be taken while the Clare side lay open to the garrison, and enabled them to obtain constant supplies of provision and fresh recruits. Ginckle saw this clearly, but was unable to discover any remedy. The passage of the river was by no means easy, and a few determined men on the opposite bank could easily render it impracticable. The Irish camp contained a numerous and gallant cavalry, which had never yet been defeated. In order to attack them with any hopes of success, a large detachment should be sent over: and if, when they were separated from the rest of the army, the garrison should make a sally on the English camp, Ginckle's army must have been irretrievably ruined. Treachery and surprise were necessary to his success, and luckily he was able to avail himself of both.

The English general issued orders to dismantle his batteries—an operation equally necessary whether he succeeded or failed in his expedition against Clare: for the guns were badly placed; and should the siege be continued, an entire change should be made in the disposition of his forces to ensure success. There was a small island in the Shannon, separated from the Clare side by a fordable channel, which Ginckle saw was the best place for attempting a passage. It was guarded by General Clifford with four regiments of dragoons; but this commander had now sold himself to the English, and had promised to resign the pass without opposition, or even exciting alarm. The almost universal tradi-

tion of the Irish peasantry is, that Colonel Henry Luttrel, the ancestor of the Carhampton family, was the person who betrayed the passage of the Shannon to Ginckle; and his name is at this day proverbially used as an epithet for all that is vile and infamous; but he was at the time imprisoned in Limerick on the suspicion of some other piece of treachery. Ginckle continued his preparations for raising the siege, and at the same time prepared a number of pontoons for transporting his army to the island. The garrison of Limerick, intoxicated with joy, uttered loud shouts of exultation when they saw the English dismounting their guns. They were persuaded that the siege was about to be raised, an event which they justly regarded as a full compensation for the disastrous battle of Aughrim. On a dark night Ginckle laid his bridge of boats without being discovered. Six hundred grenadiers, with a numerous body of horse and foot, passed over to the island without being discovered, and having formed there, proceeded to ford over to the mainland. A piquet and some sentinels of Clifford's detachment, not having shared in their leader's treason, offered some resistance; but not being supported, were easily cut to pieces. Clifford, as had been stipulated, rode off with his troops, and did not even warn the Irish army of the enemy's approach. The cavalry camp was completely surprised. The greater part of the horses were grazing at a distance of about two miles; and all who have ever seen soldiers must know the awkwardness and insufficiency of dismounted troopers. The inhabitants in the city camp, wholly unused to war, were thrown into a state of frightful confusion. They rushed in crowds over Thomond Bridge, a long, narrow, unsightly edifice, and many were crushed to death by their companions. Had Ginckle pressed forwards, the war might have been terminated on that fatal evening; but he dreaded an ambuscade, and feared that

the garrison might sally out and attack the camp during his absence. Content, therefore, with his present success, he retired rather precipitately. Nor were the advantages he obtained of slight importance. The greater part of the saddles and accoutrements of the Irish cavalry were taken in the camp; and thus that part of the enemy's forces which he most dreaded was rendered inefficient.

The conduct of the garrison in not making a sally during Ginckle's absence has been severely censured; but it can scarcely be blamed if all the circumstances be fairly considered. The passage of the Shannon, and the surprise of the camp, fully proved that there were traitors in their councils, and no one knew how far the conspiracy had extended.

Ginckle wisely took this opportunity of issuing a proclamation, offering the Irish very favourable terms of peace, and reprobating the folly of those who would prefer a connexion with France to that with Britain. At the same time he secretly intimated to Sarsfield that King William had become greatly attached to his character, and was willing to purchase his service at almost any price. There is no doubt that Sarsfield would have preferred an able sovereign like William to such a miserable bigot as James; but he entertained a chivalrous sense of honour and romantic spirit of loyalty, sufficiently rare in all ages, but at this period unparalleled; the offer was refused courteously, and the resistance continued. Vacillation now reigned in the English councils. Many were of opinion that the siege should be raised, and Talmash with difficulty prevailed on the general to order another attack, with the understanding that it should be the last if not attended with very decided success.

On the 22d of September, Ginckle again crossed the Shannon with a more numerous detachment than before, and attacked the Irish posted in front of Thomond Bridge. The British were beaten back in

the first attempt, and their cavalry thrown into confusion. At the same time the infantry was exposed to a severe fire from the walls, and from some gravel-pits which the Irish had lined with musketeers. The defeat of the assault seemed certain, when the fate of the day was changed by the British grenadiers. With heroism never surpassed they passed through the fire of the forts, pierced the Irish columns, and fell with all their weight on the party that defended the bridge. This narrow structure was soon heaped with piles of dead above its battlements, forming a new obstacle to the advance of the British. At length, the French officer who commanded at Thomond gate ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and thus left the Irish detachment exposed to certain ruin. The greater part leaped into the Shannon, and endeavoured to swim to the city. Some succeeded but many were drowned. The Irish have always insisted that the drawbridge was raised before it was necessary; and this wanton sacrifice of their friends completed their alienation from their allies. No satisfactory reason has ever been assigned for the garrison of Limerick not having attacked the English camp while Ginckle was engaged on the Clare side of the Shannon. Had they done so, the English army must have been irretrievably ruined; for the regiments left to guard the lines were few, and miserably inefficient. It probably was not thought of until the favourable opportunity was lost. Great as this victory was, it could slightly improve Ginckle's real situation. The Irish had suffered a great loss of men: but the English were far from winning a bloodless triumph; and there was this difference between their losses, the Irish could easily procure fresh recruits, but Ginckle had it not in his power to obtain new reinforcements.

The raising of Thomond drawbridge, however, did more for Ginckle than any victory could effect. It determined the Irish army to seek peace, because

the soldiers believed that their brethren had been needlessly sacrificed; and the manifest mismanagement of affairs ever since the death of St. Ruth had shaken their confidence in their commanders. Though Sarsfield was nominally at the head of the army, he was checked and controlled by the other generals; nor, indeed, does he seem to have acted in this crisis in a manner worthy of his former fame. He was probably one of those who possess more valour to execute than skill to contrive. Though he had been the most obstinate supporter of the war-party, he began to waver when he perceived the soldiers disinclined to its continuance. Another cause for changing his sentiments was, probably, the not unfounded suspicion that James would send a general by the French fleet to supersede him in command. On the 23d of September, a reluctant assent to a treaty was wrung from Sarsfield by the other leaders; and on the evening of that day a cessation of arms was granted, to afford an opportunity for settling the terms of the capitulation. A message was instantly despatched to the lords-justices, and it reached them just in time to prevent the publication of a proclamation, offering the Irish leaders terms of peace as full and as honourable as they could have expected after a decisive victory. We do not know the exact terms of this suppressed proclamation; we do know that it granted the Catholics all the privileges that they previously enjoyed, and all that they have since demanded. On the 1st of October the lords-justices arrived in the camp; and on the third the articles of the treaty, which had been previously prepared by Chief-baron Rice and Sir Theobald Butler, an eminent lawyer of the Irish party, were solemnly signed by the different authorities.

This celebrated treaty provided that all Roman Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion as in the reign of Charles II.; and promised that their majesties would endeavour to procure them

further security in this particular when a parliament could be convened. It was engaged that all the inhabitants of Limerick, and all those in arms for King James in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, or Mayo, should enjoy their estates, and pursue their callings and professions freely, as in the reign of Charles II.; that the Catholic gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and should be required to take no oath but the oath of allegiance. And it was agreed that all officers and soldiers, unwilling to remain in the country on these conditions, should be conveyed to the Continent at the expense of the government.

Two days after the treaty was signed, the French fleet arrived off the coast, bringing reinforcements and military stores more than sufficient to have turned the tide of victory. It was manifestly the interest of Ginckle to have the treaty ratified before the arrival of the French; and the Irish negotiators are blamed for having so far played their enemy's game as to have allowed the ratification to be hurried. They were, however, influenced by a sincere desire for peace. They felt that if the French landed the war must be continued; and they feared that the effect of victory would be to make their country a province of France.

On the 4th of October, Talmash, at the head of five British regiments, occupied the English town of Limerick; and on the following day the Irish army was paraded on the King's Island, in order that they might choose between the service of England and France. Ginckle and Sarsfield addressed them in different proclamations; the former recommending William, the latter Louis as a master. It was then agreed that on the ensuing morning the army should be again paraded, and marched past a flag which had been fixed at a given point. Those who chose England were to file to the left; those who preferred France were to march on.

The sun, perhaps, scarcely ever rose on a more interesting spectacle than was exhibited on King's Island when the morning for the decision of the Irish soldiery arrived. The men paraded at an early hour; the chaplains said mass, and preached each a sermon at the head of their regiments. The Catholic bishops then went through the lines, blessing the troops as they passed. They were received with military honours, rendered more imposing by the affectionate devotion which the native Irish have ever shown to their prelates. After this ceremony refreshments were distributed to the troops, and a message sent to Ginckle and the lords-justices that "all was ready." The Irish army, fifteen thousand strong, received the British cortège with presented arms. The lords-justices and the generals rode slowly through their lines, and declared that they had never seen a finer body of men. Adjutant-general Withers then addressed them in an excellent speech, recommending the English service in very forcible terms; after which the army broke into column, and the word "March" was given.

The walls of the town were covered with citizens; the neighbouring hills were crowded with the peasantry of Clare and Limerick; the deputies of three kings stood near the flag; but when the decisive word was given the deepest silence reigned through the vast and varied multitude, and not a sound was heard but the heavy tread of the advancing battalions. The column was headed by the Irish guards fourteen hundred strong, a regiment that had excited Ginckle's warmest admiration. They marched past the flag, and seven men only ranged themselves on the side of England. The next two regiments were the Ulster Irish, and they all filed to the left. Their example, however, was not generally followed; the greater part of the remainder declared in favour of France. A similar scene took place at the cavalry-camp; and out of the whole, Ginckle only obtained

about one thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot. So little pleased was he with this result, that he was inclined to pick a quarrel with the Irish leaders; and the treaty would have been broken almost as soon as signed but for the presence of the French fleet, which forced the English authorities to suppress their resentment.

On the 12th of October the Irish cavalry that had chosen the service of France passed through Limerick, on their way to Cork from Clare. This gallant body had been the darling and the pride of the Irish during this eventful war, and their departure was viewed with deep and bitter regret. The citizens assembled to bid them a final farewell; but their hearts died within them; a few faint cheers, as faintly answered, spoke the sadness as well as the depth of their mutual affection. Tears and blessings accompanied them to the Water-gate; and when the last file had passed out, a deep groan burst from the citizens of Limerick, who felt that their national hope was now destroyed. The infantry followed in a few days; but their numbers were greatly thinned by desertion before they reached the place of embarkation. There are no persons so strongly attached to their native soil as the Irish peasants. Those who have witnessed the administration of justice at the assizes well know that transportation is more dreaded than hanging by the criminals who stand at an Irish bar. It is not wonderful, therefore, that many, after the momentary excitement was over, should repent of their determination, and resolve to stay in the land of their affections. The reluctance to embark was greatly increased by the accounts which were received from France of the reception given to the first divisions. Louis was enraged at the termination of a war which employed so large a portion of the forces of his great enemy; and though his own niggardliness in sending supplies, and the long delay of reinforcements, was the

chief cause of the evil, he unjustly vented his resentment on those who had voluntarily chosen his service. No quarters were assigned to the troops; the regiments were broken up, the officers reduced to inferior ranks, and the generals excluded from the court. This disgraceful treatment was not, however, long continued. In a few years the Irish brigades were deservedly esteemed the most valuable part of the French army.

William, as soon as the treaty had been signed, removed his foreign regiments from the country, but not before they had been guilty of several fresh excesses. A large sum of money was given them, as a compensation for the plunder which they resigned; and they departed amid the joint execrations of Catholics and Protestants. In a few days, the tranquillity of the country was perfectly restored.

CHAPTER XVI.

Consequences of the Treaty of Limerick—The Penal Laws.

The treaty of Limerick was a kind of national arrangement, in which all parties resigned some of their pretensions, in order to effect a reconciliation; and, as is usual in such cases, all parties felt dissatisfied. The partisans of James and Louis justly observed, that the town was surrendered without the slightest military necessity, and at a time when, by the delay of a few days, the entire fortune of the war might have been changed. The Irish not included in the capitulation, complained bitterly that their brethren had left them exposed to forfeiture, when, by merely making the demand from Ginckle, all the Irish confiscations would have been abandoned; and,

certainly, the desertion of these brave and unhappy men is an indelible stain on the character of the negotiators at Limerick. But no party denounced the treaty so violently as those who had been the principal gainers by it—the Cromwellians—or, to use their own phrase, "the Protestant ascendency." Their object had been to crush the Catholics completely, and to seize into their own hands all the wealth, power, and property of Ireland. Their rage at a treaty which secured civil rights to all the Catholics, and their estates to a considerable portion of that body, was indescribable. They assailed Ginckle's character with the utmost virulence. In vain did he represent to them, that if the treaty had been delayed, the French fleet would have arrived, and their ruin consummated. They would listen to no reason, and never forgave the man who rescued them from destruction. The intolerant bigotry of this party supplied them with arguments to conceal their avarice. They quoted examples from the Old Testament, as their fathers had done, and madly demanded the extirpation of the idolatrous papists. It was at this time that an anonymous writer described the "Protestantism of the Irish Ascendency" in terms not less severe than merited, as consisting of "hatred of popery, ignorance of Christianity, and a total absence of moral principle." The history of the period on which we are about to enter, will furnish, alas! too many examples of the truth of this definition.

The violent part of the clergy led the way in denouncing the treaty. On the Sunday after the return of the lords-justices from Meath, they went in state to Christ Church, when Dr. Dopping, bishop of Meath, mounted the pulpit, and, after having denounced the articles of Limerick in no very measured terms, argued, that Protestants were not bound to keep faith with papists. A doctrine so favourable to their avarice and bigotry was eagerly adopted by

the zealots of "the ascendency;" but the lords-justices were not disposed to countenance such an abominable principle: and, on the following Sunday, Dr. Moreton, Bishop of Kildare, preached a sermon in reply to Dopping, in which he showed the obligation under which men were to preserve contracts and keep solemn promises. The king was a man of honour, and exerted himself, as far as he would be allowed, to preserve the privileges which had been guarantied to the Catholics. He was an enlightened friend to toleration; and those who, in modern times, have made his name the pass-word for ferocious bigotry, are the worst libellers of his memory. But William was now in a situation which prevented him from effecting his benevolent intentions. However, he succeeded in preventing any gross infraction of the treaty during his life; and, for this act of justice and sound policy, he was honoured with the intense hatred of the Irish ascendency.

The first manifestation of their anger was on the decisions of the "Court of Claims," which assembled to determine the qualifications of those who were to be restored to their property by the treaty of Limerick. The court adjudged about one-fifth of the confiscated lands to the original proprietors, and several others were given back their estates by the special favour of the king. The largest forfeiture was that of the Earl of Clancarty; and it was a doubtful point whether he was not included in the articles. William was anxious to preserve this ancient family; but Sir Richard Cox, who had already obtained some confiscated lands, procured a declaration from the county of Cork grand jury, that the restoration of the Earl of Clancarty would be "prejudicial to the Protestant interest;" meaning thereby, that it would be inconvenient to these gentlemen to part with his estates which they had seized. This precious argument was deemed sufficient: and the

extensive estates of this nobleman in Cork, Limerick, and Kerry were fraudulently sold by the commissioners at Chichester House. At a later period, George II. made a similar effort in favour of the earl, but was defeated by the Irish House of Commons; and to shut out his hopes for ever, they voted, that any lawyer who pleaded in his behalf should be deemed an enemy of his country!

The first Irish parliament held in this reign contained a few Catholic members, principally in the upper house; but the great majority was composed of the faction of the violent Protestants.* There was but little harmony between the prince and parliament. A very small supply was voted; and this had scarcely been done, when the commons became involved in a dispute with the king respecting their privileges. Of the certified bills returned from England, according to Poynings's law, two were bills of supply; and these, not having originated in the commons, were deemed, and indeed really were, unconstitutional. The Cromwellians, though professing the utmost devotion to the claims of the British king and parliament, have never shown any respect for the mandates of either, when they did not coincide with their own interests and prejudices. Had William allowed them to rob and murder the Catholics, they would have permitted him to raise money by proclamation, if he felt so inclined; but his adherence to the treaty of Limerick kindled in their breasts the flame of constitutional liberty. They rejected one bill, and passed the other, with a clause, stating, that they assented to it only on account of the emergency of the case; and declaring, that "it was, and is, the undoubted right of the Commons

* The English parliament that met nineteen days after the signing of the treaty of Limerick, set the example of flagrantly violating the articles, by passing an act, that "all the members of the Irish legislature should take the oath of supremacy." This act, though the Catholics submitted to it, was not binding in Ireland, until the 22d year of George III., when it was made part of the constitution of 1782.

to originate all money-bills." Lord Sydney immediately prorogued the parliament, and reprehended them for the little gratitude they had shown to their great deliverer; but gratitude, in their vocabulary, meant "a lively sense of future favours;" and they parted in great indignation.

A. D. 1693.—Sydney was soon recalled; and in his place three lords-justices appointed—Lord Capel, Sir Cycil Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb. The two latter were anxious to maintain the observance of the articles of Limerick; the former was an avowed supporter of the "Protestant ascendency." His principles were too much in accordance with the prejudices of the day not to prevail. His colleagues were removed, and the Catholics had soon reason to regret their easy credulity in laying down their arms at Limerick, and trusting to the faith and honour of England. The breaches of the treaty at this time, however, must not be attributed to the government. The supreme power in Ireland has never yet been able to control its inferior officers; because the faction from which they were chosen could be able, under the forms of law, to perpetrate the most illegal acts. If the government wished to check the misconduct of a magistrate, they had no means at their disposal to effect their purpose. The sheriff returned a grand jury of individuals, who, if not guilty of similar oppressions, would gladly have imitated them if they dared. Bills for the grossest atrocities were ignored without scruple. In fact, the oligarchy, formed in an evil hour, had the power of checking the government, and oppressing the people; and it scrupled not to insult and ill-treat both. The lords-justices issued a proclamation to restrain the excesses of their own creatures, whom they had intrusted with the local magistracy. It was a useless effort; for the administration was almost of necessity confided to those who were, either by principle or interest, united with the crim-

inals. The Cromwellians, though an uneducated body, possessed more real wisdom than their adversaries are disposed to give them credit for. They watched the proceedings of the English parliament, and became loyalists or patriots, just as opposition or subserviency best suited their interests. The leaders of the English whigs had used the cause of Irish Protestantism as a popular watchword in their war against the Stuarts; and they could not now venture directly to contradict their former assertions, by acknowledging them to be oppressors, and thus vindicating the resistance of the Catholics.

The century of unmingled calamity and oppression that followed the close of the revolutionary war in Ireland, has often been characterized as the period in which "Ireland had no history." The phrase is not very intelligible; for surely there was not, during that period, a suspension of the nation's existence. It would be more correct to say, that, during that century, the records of each succeeding year contained little more than a repetition of tyranny on the part of the governors, and bitter sufferings in those subjected to their sway. The monstrous iniquity of the penal laws, those atrocious enactments which must for ever brand with disgrace the memory of the Protestant legislature of Ireland, were by no means the most grievous infliction on the native Irish. The oppressions of the local magistracy, the tyranny of the inferior officers of government, the heartless cruelty of landlords, and the absolute denial of legal redress to the peasantry, produced evils more extensive and more permanent. Bad laws may be repealed: but a systematic perversion of justice has a tendency to perpetuate itself. Habit combines with interest and party spirit; the most incorrupt almost unconsciously adopts the practices of those by whom he is surrounded; and should he attempt to resist, he finds himself alone against a host. On the other hand, it is difficult to inspire

confidence in law into the bosoms of those who have long known the law only as the engine of their oppression. The fact, that there was a time when justice was denied to the Irish Catholics, is indisputable. The feeling that the time has not yet quite gone past, cannot be eradicated, until many years of stern and strict impartiality have elapsed.

It would be unjust to make the English government responsible for the oppressions of the local magistracy; and it would be still more unfair to charge any part of their guilt on the English people. The British rulers had scarcely the power of choice. The old nobility and gentry of Ireland had, for the most part, embraced the cause of their rightful sovereign, and were of course unlikely to be trusted with power by a government with which they had been so lately at war. Most of them feeling that such must be the case, and unwilling to remain in their native land stripped of their natural influence, sought an honourable refuge in foreign service. The British government was, therefore, forced to intrust the local administration to the new aristocracy—men whose only connexion with the land they ruled was inveterate hostility to its inhabitants, full of that spurious pride, compounded of ignorance and conceit, which characterizes upstarts; and with just such a remnant of the enthusiasm of their fathers, the Levellers, as made them bitter persecutors, without being sincere believers. The English people always regard their constitution with just pride; and they thought that the blessings of good government must be secured to every country in which it was established. They did not reflect, that the mere forms of the constitution may be preserved, and yet more cruel despotism exist than Rome witnessed in the days of Nero. The mistake was very natural; but it was, at the same time, as gross a mistake as was ever made by a nation.

A great deal of the crimes and enormities justly

charged on the party of "the ascendency," must be attributed to the circumstances of their situation. They constituted an aristocracy formed by an unprecedented succession of accidents, and resting for security entirely on external aid. They knew that they were neither loved nor respected, and they naturally desired to make themselves feared. They felt also that they were despised for the meanness of their origin by the ancient Irish gentry; and they, of course, exerted themselves to weaken the influence of persons whose nobility eclipsed their own humble claims. With singular impudence, they denounced all Irish names as *vulgar*; and the sons of Cromwell's fanatical soldiery, the meanest and worst part of the parliamentary army, affected to look down on the O's and Macs, descended from kings, and "over the ashes of whose ancestors minsters had been builded." The restrictions placed by England on the trade and commerce of Ireland perpetuated the ignorance and fanaticism of "the ascendency;" the love of excitement, so natural to the human mind, shut out from the healthful indulgence afforded by commercial speculation, sought for gratification in enthusiasm and extravagance. When an Irish House of Commons had nothing else to do, it naturally sought for employment in devising laws to prevent the growth of popery.

But though, in their conduct towards the native Irish, the Cromwellian aristocracy was systematically cruel and unjust, we are not to conclude that they were men wholly destitute of virtue. There are few who do not echo the praise bestowed on the heroism of the Spartans, and yet they treated the helots more barbarously than the slaves of any other nation of antiquity. The Spanish conquerors of Peru murdered the Indians without mercy, and scrupled not to unite perfidy with murder in their conduct to the helpless natives of America; yet were they full of the high sentiments of Castilian honour.

The slave-owners, in the very worst of the West India islands, are remarkable for commercial probity; and in the same way, the Cromwellians acted honourably and uprightly to all but Irish papists, but inserted a clause of exception respecting them in every one of the commandments.

Lord Capel summoned a second Irish parliament in 1695; but instead of recommending a confirmation of the treaty of Limerick, the speech at the opening of the session declared, that "the king was intent upon a firm settlement of Ireland upon a *Protestant* interest." The parliament at once laid aside the constitutional jealousies displayed by its predecessor, and eagerly embarked in the scheme of establishing a Protestant interest. They appointed a committee to consider what penal laws were already in force against the Catholics, not for the purpose of repealing them, as had been promised by the treaty of Limerick, but in order to add to their number. The principal penal laws then in existence were as follows:

1. An act, subjecting all who upheld the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, to the penalties of a *premunire*; and ordering the oath of supremacy to be a qualification for office of every kind, for holy orders, and for a degree in the university.

2. An act for the uniformity of common prayer, imposing a fine of a shilling on all who should absent themselves from places of worship of the established church on Sundays.

3. An act, allowing the chancellor to name a guardian to the child of a Catholic.

4. An act to prevent Catholics from becoming private tutors in families, without license from the ordinaries of their several parishes, and taking the oath of supremacy.

To these the Irish parliament added, 1. An act to deprive Catholics of the means of educating their children at home or abroad, and to render them in-

capable of being guardians of their own or any other person's children; 2. An act to disarm the Catholics; and, 3. Another to banish all the Catholic priests and prelates. Having thus flagrantly violated the treaty, they gravely brought in a bill "to confirm the articles of Limerick." Never was any legislature guilty of such an atrocious breach of public faith, as was committed by the Irish parliament in this instance. The very title of the bill contains evidence of its injustice. It is styled, "A bill for the confirmation of articles (not *the* articles) made at the surrender of Limerick." And the preamble shows, that the little word *the* was not accidentally omitted. It runs thus:—"That the said articles, or *so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your majesty's subjects in these kingdoms*, may be confirmed," &c. The parts that appeared to these legislators inconsistent with "the safety and welfare of his majesty's subjects," were the first article, which provided for the security of the Catholics from all disturbances on account of their religion; those parts of the second article which confirmed the Catholic gentry of Limerick, Clare, Cork, Kerry, and Mayo in the possession of their estates, and allowed all Catholics to exercise their trades and professions without obstruction; the fourth article, which extended the benefit of the peace to certain Irish officers then abroad; the seventh article, which allowed the Catholic gentry to ride armed; the ninth article, which provides that the oath of allegiance shall be the only oath required from Catholics; and one or two others of minor importance. All of these are omitted in the bill for "The confirmation of articles made at the surrender of Limerick."

The Commons passed the bill without much difficulty. They had but little character to lose, and as visions of confiscations floated before their imaginations, they could not discern the value of that little.

The House of Lords, however, contained some few of the ancient nobility, and some prelates, who, like Moreton, refused to acknowledge the dogma, "that no faith should be kept with papists," as an article of their creed. The bill was strenuously resisted, and when it was at length carried, a protest signed by thirteen peers, of whom six were bishops, was entered on the journals.* This atrocious violation of national faith was soon after followed by three new penal laws; 1st, An act to prevent Protestants from marrying with papists; 2d, An act to prevent papists from being solicitors; and 3d, An act to prohibit their being employed as gamekeepers!

Though but a small part of the blame of these iniquitous laws can fairly be ascribed to King William and the parliament of England, there were some other events in that reign which showed that the

* This interesting document appears not to have been noticed by the Irish historians; we have therefore inserted it entire.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, whose names are hereafter subscribed, do dissent from the aforesaid vote, and enter our protest against the same, for the reasons following: 1st, Because we think that the title of the bill doth not agree with the body thereof, the title being, 'An act for the confirmation of articles made at the surrender of Limerick;' whereas no one of the articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed. 2dly, Because the said articles were to be confirmed in favour of them to whom they were granted; but the confirmation of them by the bill is such, that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as we conceive. 3dly, Because the bill omits these material words, '*and such as are under their protection in said counties*;' which are, by his majesty's letters-patent, declared to be part of the second article; and several persons have been adjudged within the second article accordingly, who will, if this bill passeth into a law, be entirely barred and excluded from any benefit of the said second article, by virtue of the afore-mentioned words; so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his majesty after a solemn debate in council, as we are informed, some express reason, as we conceive, ought to have been assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world as to that omission. 4thly, Because several words are inserted in the bill, which are not in the articles, and others omitted which alter the sense and meaning of some part of the articles, as we conceive. 5thly, Because we conceive that many Protestants may, and will suffer by this bill, in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased and lent money upon the credit of the said articles, and, as we conceive, in several other respects."—*Journals, House of Lords of Ireland, September 21st*, 1697.

English were little scrupulous in committing acts of national injustice. The spirit of commercial jealousy, which has done more injury to the commerce of England than all other causes united, induced the British parliament to present a joint address to the king, praying that he would discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland! The royal reply deserves to be recorded.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there; and to promote the trade of England.

"July 2, 1698."

The promise of encouraging the linen manufacture was not kept. Every attempt to establish it in the south of Ireland failed, principally, it must be added, because the avarice of the clergy prevented the establishment of an equitable *modus* for the tithe of flax.*

About the same time, Mr. William Molyneux, member for the Dublin University, celebrated as the friend of Locke, published a book asserting the independence of the Irish legislature. The English House of Commons was thrown into a paroxysm of rage. They resolved unanimously, "that the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland,

* As a further example of England's spirit of commercial jealousy, we may mention a petition presented to the British House of Commons in this reign, from Folkstone in Kent and Aldborough in Suffolk, complaining, "that the Irish of Waterford and Wexford, by catching herrings and sending them to the Straits, were forestalling and ruining the markets of the petitioners." This petition was ordered to be taken into serious consideration by the Solons of that day; but what was the result is not known.

and the subordination and independence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They also, in a body, presented an address to his majesty, beseeching him, "that the laws directing and restraining the Irish parliament should not be evaded;" and obtained from the king a promise of compliance. Finally, they ordered the obnoxious book to be burned by the common hangman. If any thing could add to the disgrace of William's Irish parliament, it would be their tame submission to this flagrant and wanton insult; but a legislature, already dishonoured by perfidy, injustice, and tyranny, dared not to make any efforts for its own vindication. They were prepared to submit to any treatment, provided that they were permitted to retain their ascendency over the unfortunate Catholics.

Small as the confiscations made by William were, they formed the ground of a serious quarrel between him and his parliament. The king having made seventy-six grants of the forfeited estates to his most faithful servants, those who were disappointed of their share of plunder clamoured loudly against this exertion of the prerogative. A bill for the resumption of these grants passed the lower house with little difficulty, but encountered a severe opposition in the lords. It was however finally carried, and William could not refrain from expressing his dissatisfaction when he gave it the royal assent. The forfeited lands were placed for sale in the hands of trustees, whose proceedings were marked by the most scandalous oppression and venality; but the English parliament rejected all petitions against their conduct, and declared that all the accusations were false and malicious. This ingenious mode of argument, in which sentence is given on the conclusion, after refusing all consideration of the premises, has been frequently practised by the English and Irish

parliaments when legislating for Ireland. The forfeited lands were valued at fifteen hundred thousand pounds; in the hands of the trustees, they produced little more than a third of that sum.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Penal Laws.

A. D. 1701.—During the reign of Anne, England attained to greater prosperity and influence than she had acquired since the reign of Cromwell; but Ireland, by the ferocious acts of her own legislature, was reduced to a state of wretchedness almost unexampled in the annals of tyranny and suffering. While William was alive, his well-known wish to prevent further infringements of the treaty of Limerick, prevented the faction of the ascendency from adding to those iniquitous acts by which they showed their malignant hatred of their fellow-subjects, and at the same time their fears, that some new crisis might wrest from them the lands purchased by such a long course of guilt and fraud. The first bill, "to prevent the growth of popery," was introduced in the session of 1703. The following are among the most remarkable of its enactments:—The third clause provides, that if the son of an estated papist shall conform to the established religion, the father shall be incapacitated from selling or mortgaging his estate, or disposing of any portion of it by will. The fourth clause prohibits a papist from being the guardian of his own child; and orders, that if at any time the child, though ever so young, pretends to be a Protestant, it shall be taken from its own father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest Protestant relation. The sixth clause renders papists incapable of purchasing any manors, tenements, here-

ditaments, or any rents or profits arising out of the same, or of holding any lease of lives, or other lease whatever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years. And with respect even to such limited leases, it further enacts, that if a papist should hold a farm producing a profit greater than one-third of the amount of the rent, his right to such should immediately cease, and pass over entirely to the first Protestant who should discover the rate of profit. The seventh clause prohibits papists from succeeding to the properties or estates of their Protestant relations. By the tenth clause, the estate of a papist, not having a Protestant heir, is ordered to be gavelled, or divided in equal shares between all his children. The sixteenth and twenty-fourth clauses impose the oath of abjuration, and the sacramental test, as a qualification for office, and for voting at elections. The twenty-third clause deprives the Catholics of Limerick and Galway of the protection secured to them by the articles of the treaty. The twenty-fifth clause vests in her majesty all adowsons possessed by papists.

It would be a mere waste of words to reprobate this iniquitous law, or rather this violation of all law human and divine. No Irish Protestant can peruse its enactments without a blush for the shame thus brought on his religion, when it was thus virtually declared that the reformed system should owe its strength and security, not to the purity of its principles, not to the excellence of its doctrines, but to robbery and oppression, to dissension between father and child, to stimulating one neighbour to seize the fruits of another's industry, to the desecration of a solemn sacrament, by making it a test for office. How can we be surprised that the reformed religion is unpopular in Ireland, when, by this and similar laws, a Protestant legislature virtually declared that Protestantism could not be secure unless it entered into alliance with Belial, Mammon, and Moloch!

When this atrocious bill was introduced, the

Catholics asked leave to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house against it, and obtained permission. Sir Theobald Butler, Mr. Malone, and Rice, who had been chief-baron, appeared, and made an argumentative, rather than an eloquent, appeal to the justice and honour of their hearers. Butler showed how gross was this attempt to violate the articles of Limerick. The meritorious conduct of the Catholics since the period of their submission, he insisted, ought to save them from such bitter penalties. He pointed out how infamous was the attempt to destroy all confidence between parents and children; and he severely censured the exclusion of Protestant dissenters from office, by the imposition of the sacramental test. His arguments, as he seems himself to have anticipated, were unheeded. The bill was sent to the Duke of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, who declared on receiving it, "that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner, and do every thing in his power to prevent the growth of popery;"—a promise which he very faithfully performed.

By a strange concatenation of events, this law proved penal to Protestants as well as papists. The English ministers were at this time engaged in a negotiation with the Emperor of Germany, for obtaining from him a full toleration of Protestantism in his dominions; and were by no means willing to put it in his power to retort, that he treated Protestants far better than they did Catholics. They laboured, therefore, to dissuade the Irish parliament from urging the measure; but their efforts were vain. The faction of the ascendency was not to be deterred from persecution by a regard for foreign Protestants, because their war was not against the religion but the property of the Catholics. The whig ministry of England was now caught by its own devices. They had excited and maintained a popular clamour against popery for several years, in order to strengthen their influence; and now, it was to be feared, that, if they

acted justly, they would themselves be driven from their posts as friends of papists. They knew, however, that the Irish parliament was composed chiefly of dissenters, and therefore inserted the clause imposing the sacramental test, hoping that this would cause the rejection of the entire measure. But the English ministers had formed too high an estimate of the consciences of the Irish faction. They sanctioned the clause almost without debate; and to use the phrase of one of their own writers, "swallowed their scruples and the sacrament together."

Human nature revolted against this cruel law. There were many magistrates who refused to exert themselves in its execution; and public feeling branded, as the worst of informers, those who became discoverers in order to rob their neighbours. The Irish commons had therefore recourse to publishing resolutions, almost every session, blaming supine magistrates, and praising informers. On the 17th of March, 1705, they voted, "that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." In June of the same year, they denounced such persons as "enemies to her majesty's government." And they also resolved, "that the prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service to the government."

But even these laws were not deemed sufficient; and in 1709, an act imposing additional severities was passed, almost without opposition. The first clause declares, that no papist shall be capable of holding an annuity for life. The third provides, that the child of a papist, on conforming, shall at once receive an annuity from his father; and that the chancellor shall compel the father to discover, upon oath, the full value of his estate real and personal, and thereupon make an order for the support of such conforming child or children, and for securing such

a share of the property, after the father's death, as the court shall think fit. The fourteenth and fifteenth clauses secure jointures to popish wives who shall conform. The sixteenth prohibits a papist from teaching, even as assistant to a Protestant master. The eighteenth gives a salary of 30*l.* per annum to popish priests who shall conform. The twentieth provides rewards for the discovery of popish prelates, priests, and teachers, according to the following whimsical scale.

For discovering an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person, exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction .	£50 0 0
For discovering each regular clergyman, and each secular clergyman not registered	£20 0 0
For discovering each popish schoolmaster or usher	£10 0 0

The twenty-first clause empowers two justices to summon before them any papist over eighteen years of age, and interrogate him when and where he last heard mass said, and the names of the persons present, and likewise touching the residence of any Popish priest or schoolmaster; and if he refuse to give testimony, subjects him to a fine of 20*l.*, or imprisonment for twelve months.

Several other penal laws were enacted at the same time, of which we can only notice one; it excludes Catholics from the office of sheriff, and from grand juries, and enacts, that, in trials upon any statute for strengthening the Protestant interest, the plaintiff might challenge a juror for being a papist, which challenge the judge was to allow. The effect of this law was to make the administration of justice more than suspected of partiality, and almost to justify the bitter sarcasms that English travellers have so frequently uttered against the decisions of Irish juries.

Neither have the baneful effects of this exclusive system as yet wholly disappeared.

The design of the Protestant legislators appears to have been, to drive all the Catholics out of the country; and, so far as the gentry were concerned, they succeeded tolerably well. The example of the parliament was zealously imitated by the Irish corporations—bodies that will not bear an adequate description; they enacted by-laws excluding the Catholics from all profitable branches of trade, and, in many instances, from residence within the walls of the town. The consequence was, that the mercantile Catholics transferred their wealth and intelligence to foreign countries, where they founded commercial houses, which, even at this day, retain their high character and prosperity.

The sufferings of the Catholics were greatly aggravated by the zeal of the underlings of administration—ever ready in Ireland to manifest a zeal beyond the law. In the year 1708, there was a report that the young Pretender intended to invade Scotland; and, immediately, forty-one of the Catholic nobility and gentry were arrested, and placed in close confinement. The government, however, had the grace to be ashamed of this arbitrary proceeding, and ordered the prisoners to be liberated without payment of fees. A more ludicrous instance of Protestant timidity was exhibited, by the House of Commons resolving that the pilgrimages of the sick and infirm to St. John's Well, in the county of Meath, "were inconsistent with the safety of the kingdom!"

The factions that divided the English parliament through the entire of Queen Anne's reign, extended their influence to Ireland; and the parties of whig and tory, high church and low church, assailed each other with unmeasured violence. They agreed only in one point—the necessity of persecuting the papists. The clergymen of the established church,

and the majority of the lords, were tories: the whigs were superior in the lower house. There were some collisions, consequently, between the two branches of the legislature; but as they involved no important principle, they may be permitted to rest in unhonoured oblivion. One display of party zeal was truly ludicrous. The pass-word and signal of the faction of the ascendency was in that age, as well as the present, the toast of "The pious, glorious and immortal memory of the great and good King William, who freed us from popery, slavery, brass money, and wooden shoes!" to which is usually added a tail of execrations on all who refuse to join in the pledge. Browne, Bishop of Cork, thought fit to preach a sermon against this piece of absurdity, and consummated his folly by printing it. The whigs denounced the bishop as an impugner of the revolution, and added to the obnoxious toast a clause, expressing contempt for the bishop in no very delicate terms; and this clause is frequently given as part of the toast at the present hour.

Though the Irish parliament submitted to insult in the case of Molyneux, it showed, on one or two occasions, a spirit of resistance against the usurpations of the English legislature. The lords entered into a resolution denouncing those who appealed against their jurisdiction; and the commons rejected a money-bill, because it had been altered by the English privy council. A more flagrant case was an act of the English parliament to prevent the growth of schism, aimed principally against the Presbyterians, which was made to include Ireland; for the ministry knew that such a bill would not pass the Irish House of Commons, where the dissenters had a great majority.

A. D. 1714.—The accession of George I. gave the whigs ascendency in Ireland, but produced little or no change in the general circumstances of the nation. There was no attempt to raise an insurrec-

tion in favour of the Pretender, when the rebellion broke out in Scotland and the north of England. The Irish Catholics, even though disposed to favour the House of Stuart, had no longer any leaders; but they had been, long before this time, cured of their attachment to that despicable family. In fact, they had learned that, in the negotiations which James had carried on with the leaders of the whigs in England, he had intimated his readiness to make no exertions in behalf of his Irish adherents. The attainder of the Duke of Ormond, for his adherence to the cause of the Pretender, had in it something of retributive justice. He had eagerly supported the penal laws; and now he was to suffer forfeiture from the parliament, to whose bad passions he had pandered, for his attachment to the cause of a Catholic sovereign.

In consequence of the Irish House of Lords having resisted the right of appeal to the House of Lords in England, the English parliament thought fit to pass "an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of England," which reduced the Irish legislature to a mere idle mockery. It deprived the Irish House of Lords of their jurisdiction in cases of appeal; and it declares that the British parliament "has full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland."

The English parliament having thus kindly relieved the legislature in the sister island from a great portion of its labours, the Irish parliament devoted its leisure to the preparation of new laws against popery. Several new acts were introduced and passed, inflicting further penalties and disqualifications on the Catholics, one of which is still in force, viz. that which excludes papists from voting at any vestry held for the purpose of levying or assessing money for rebuilding or repairing parish-churches.

These laws were executed in the same sanguinary and intolerant spirit that had originally dictated their enactment. Priest-hunting became a fashionable amusement. Catholic chapels were forcibly shut up. The Catholic clergy sent into prison, and from thence hurried into exile. But one bill, which was passed by both of the Irish Houses of Parliament, is quite sufficient to show how violent and shameless was the Protestant bigotry of this disgraceful period. It actually contained a clause—how can it be mentioned without offence to delicacy?—a clause for subjecting every Catholic ecclesiastic who should come to Ireland to the penalty of castration! On presenting this bill to the lord-lieutenant, both houses added the remarkable request, "That he would recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his majesty;" and his excellency promised compliance. Sir Robert Walpole, being solicited by Cardinal Fleury, successfully exerted himself to prevent even an Irish statute-book from being sullied by such disgusting brutality; and the bill was scouted by the English privy-council. The lord-lieutenant in closing the session attempted to console the parliament for the loss of their favourite bill. He told them that "it miscarried merely by not being brought into the house before the session was so far advanced." He exhorts them in their several stations to exert themselves in maintaining the public peace, which, he says, "would be greatly promoted by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions that such persons only should be put into the commission of the peace as had distinguished themselves by their steady adherence to the Protestant interest."

The celebrated Dean Swift had a principal share in uniting, for a brief space, both Catholics and Protestants in fierce opposition to the government. His

Drapier's Letters on the subject of a patent, granted to one Wood, for coining copper-money for the use of Ireland, joined all ranks and parties in a formidable coalition, to which the administration was forced to yield; and the patent was revoked. Swift was actuated on the occasion purely by factious motives. He was one of the numerous class whom disappointed ambition has converted into patriots; but unquestionably he effected great good, not by upsetting Wood's patent, which was really beneficial to the country, but by giving the Irish an example of turning from party politics to a national object. This is the only claim his shade had to be invoked with that of Molyneux, when Grattan, in 1782, for the first time addressed his countrymen as "a free people."

A. D. 1727.—On the accession of George II. the Catholic nobility and gentry, with the principal part of the clergy, prepared a congratulatory address, which they presented to the lord-lieutenant for transmission. This document, however, was suppressed, because it was deemed inconsistent with law to acknowledge that there were any papists in existence. The claim of the Catholics to legal existence was particularly offensive to Boulter the primate, who in the early part of his reign ruled the destinies of Ireland, and whose crosier was found to be a sceptre of iron. He had been greatly alarmed by the union of parties, occasioned by the affair of Wood's halfpence, and by a gradually increasing cordiality between the Protestants and the Catholics. This he attributed to the small share of the elective franchise still retained by the latter; and of this he resolved that they should be deprived. A bill prohibiting papists from voting at elections was passed with little opposition; and thus at one stroke five-sixths of the population were disfranchised. Several additions were made about the same

time to the penal code. Of these the following are the most remarkable enactments. The Catholics were excluded from acting as barristers, six-clerks, solicitors, &c. Barristers or solicitors marrying papists are subjected to all the penalties and disqualifications of papists. No convert can act as a justice of peace whose wife or children continue papists. Persons robbed by privateers, during war with a popish prince, shall be reimbursed by grand jury presentment; and the money be levied upon the goods and lands of popish inhabitants only!

A. D. 1731.—During the administration of the Duke of Dorset, the patriots, as the opposition party in the House of Commons was named, became a powerful body. The government, anxious to escape from the control of the Irish parliament, attempted to obtain a grant of the supplies for twenty-one years; but the courtiers were outvoted by a majority of one. The gentleman who gave the casting vote was Mr. C. Tottenham of New Ross, who had come up from the country for the purpose. He arrived so late that he had no time to change his dress; and he hurried to the house in his travelling costume. This was considered a remarkable breach of etiquette; and, in allusion to it, "Tottenham in boots!" became a popular toast.

Though the Irish parliament showed a laudable zeal to support the church by penal laws, they were by no means unwilling to rob it on a favourable opportunity. They passed several resolutions against all who should demand the tithe of agistment; and thus threw the burden of supporting the Protestant ministers from the Protestant landholders on the Catholic peasants.

The Duke of Devonshire's administration was remarkable chiefly for the princely magnificence and liberality exhibited by his grace. He expended his own private property on works of public utility; and

a wharf which he erected in the city of Dublin still bears his name.

A. D. 1745.—The dread of invasion induced the English ministry to intrust the government of Ireland to the Earl of Chesterfield, who had been long in opposition to the court. By adopting conciliatory measures he preserved Ireland perfectly tranquil during the Scottish rebellion. He extended the full protection of the laws to the Catholics, and discouraged those rumours of pretended plots which, during all ages, have been so rife in Ireland. "All Connaught is rising," cried a zealous loyalist, rushing into his lordship's bed-room in a paroxysm of affected terror. "It is past nine o'clock, and time for us all to rise," coolly replied Chesterfield, looking at his watch. It is painful, however, to add, that two atrocious penal laws were enacted during his government; the first, annulling all marriages between Protestants and papists, or that were celebrated by popish priests; the second, ordering that every popish priest who married two Protestants, or a Protestant and papist, should be hanged.

A. D. 1747.—After the departure of Chesterfield, Stone the primate became the head of the Irish government. This profligate prelate scrupled not to employ the most detestable means to effect his political designs. His great object was to make government independent of the factious oligarchy that wielded the destinies of Ireland. To procure partisans in parliament, he is said to have gratified the sensual desires of the young members with the most unlimited indulgence. His residence became in fact a tavern and a brothel. The oligarchy, determined to preserve its power over the crown and the people, under the mask of patriotism, encountered him with great virulence. The injury done by such a prelate to the cause of the Protestant religion requires no comment. It is however remarkable, that in none

of the attacks made on him, do we find any allusion to the effects of his scandalous life on the religious feelings of the people.

The appeals of the opposition to the nation awakened the attention of the people to political subjects, and soon called into the field an obscure individual, who quickly outstripped the tardy march of the aristocratic patriots. Charles Lucas, an apothecary, having become a member of the common council of the city of Dublin, commenced a vigorous attack on the usurpations of the board of aldermen. His views expanded as he went on; and he published several tracts on the rights of the people, and the claims of Ireland to legislative independence. The oligarchy became alarmed: they had struggled for their own power: but now there was reason to fear that the nation would reap the benefit of their exertions: they therefore joined the government to crush Lucas as a common enemy. In the October of 1749 the House of Commons resolved "that Charles Lucas was an enemy to his country," and presented an address to the viceroy, requesting "that Lucas should be prosecuted by the attorney-general, and a reward offered for his apprehension." Lucas, unable to resist such a storm, went into temporary exile; but on his return, after a lapse of some years, he was elected to represent his fellow-citizens in parliament.

The issue of the struggle between the government and the party of the oligarchy denominated patriots sufficiently shows that the latter contended for their own private interests, and not for any national advantage. When a bill had been introduced for applying the surplus revenue to the discharge of the national debt, the Duke of Dorset, then viceroy, declared that his majesty would *consent* to the arrangement, and a clause expressing his consent was added to the bill in the English council. On the first oc-

casion the alteration was not resisted; but when a second bill was sent back with the obnoxious *consent* added, it was rejected by the Irish parliament. The dispute on this occasion was long and violent; but finally, the greater part of the money was withdrawn from the kingdom by virtue of a king's letter. The public indignation against the government was alarming. Stone, however, persuaded the viceroy to persevere, and charged the opposition with being enemies to the king's government. James, Earl of Kildare, to counteract this insidious insinuation, presented a bold memorial to the king, declaring the loyalty of himself and his associates, and condemning the conduct of Stone and Dorset in no very measured terms. Ultimately, Dorset was removed from the government. He was forced to escape from Dublin under the escort of his guards, and a hired mob which one of his official underlings had collected and supplied with drink.

A. D. 1755.—The Duke of Devonshire being appointed viceroy, took the patriots into favour, and found that, when gratified by place and pension, they were willing to be the most devoted servants of government. The oligarchy had discovered that the existence of a surplus revenue made the crown inconveniently independent, and therefore resolved that there should be no surplus revenue for the future. They made large grants of money ostensibly for public works, but in reality for private jobs—jobs so flagrant that the most corrupt would have felt ashamed, only that such a feeling as shame was unknown to the Irish parliament. The popular voice denounced the former patriots, and they were universally named "the scrambling committee."

In the autumn of 1759, during the administration of the Duke of Bedford, a small French force under the command of Thurot escaped from Dunkirk, and after many misadventures, arrived at Carrickfergus in the beginning of the following year. As the for-

tifications were in ruins, the town was taken after an obstinate defence.* But Thurot not receiving any reinforcements, and learning that the people in the neighbouring towns had taken up arms for his destruction, retired. He was overtaken in his retreat by a British squadron, and fell in the engagement.

The loyalty shown by the Catholics on this occasion, and the addresses breathing a devoted attachment to the British government sent from various parts of the kingdom by the leaders of the Catholic body, produced a favourable effect on the minds of the ministers, already disposed to look with favour on this persecuted body, in consequence of an able disclaimer of the obnoxious doctrines imputed to them, which had been previously published. It was seriously contemplated to repeal the most severe of the disqualifying laws, and to unite the legislatures of England and Ireland. The honourable John Ponsonby, the speaker of the House of Commons, was among the first of the Irish statesmen who felt sympathy in the wrongs that had been inflicted on his Catholic countrymen; and ever since that period the members of the Ponsonby family have been among the most active supporters of civil liberty and religious toleration in Ireland.

The news that such measures were in agitation produced the most violent commotions among the lower ranks of Protestants in Dublin. In general it will be found that virulence against those of an opposite creed will be found more fierce in the lower ranks than among the more respectable classes of society; and experience proves that, in Ireland, hatred of popery is more violent the lower we descend in the scale of rank, wealth, or intelligence. The fear of a union was a more justifiable cause of tumult, be-

* During the conflict in the streets of Carrickfergus, a French soldier observing a child who had run playfully into the streets amid the fire of the contending parties, grounded his musket, carried the infant to a place of safety, and returning to his comrades resumed the combat.

cause it was manifest that the removal of the parliament would greatly injure the trade of the Dublin shopkeepers. The proceedings of the mob were very characteristic of the humour which distinguishes the Irish. They forced their way into the House of Lords, seated an old woman on the throne, and got up a mock debate on the expediency of introducing pipes and tobacco. They forced the members of both houses whom they met to swear that they would never consent to a union, nor give a vote against the interests of Ireland. They compelled the chief-justice of the King's Bench to administer this oath to the attorney-general, and laughed heartily at the circumstance of having the first law officer of the crown duly sworn by one of the king's judges. From these ludicrous scenes they proceeded to more violent acts of outrage; they broke the coaches of some obnoxious individuals, and erected a gibbet for one very obnoxious person, who fortunately escaped from their hands.

The scheme of a union, if at that time seriously meditated, was frustrated by the death of George II., and the changes made in the administration by his grandson and successor George III. In the new reign there were but few penal laws; and with a brief recital of their principal enactments we shall close this long and, to us, painful chapter. In the year 1776 an act was passed permitting magistrates to search the houses of papists for arms, and to examine on oath those suspected of concealment. By the 17th clause, papists refusing to deliver up their arms, or concealing them, or refusing to discover on oath, or neglecting to appear when summoned for that purpose, were made liable on conviction to fine or imprisonment, or to the corporal punishment of pillory, or whipping, at the discretion of the court.

In the year 1782, papists were excluded from the king's inns of court; and the law of William III., excluding them from parliament, was formally

enacted. This latter act attracted little notice at the time, for the Catholics had submitted to William's English act, and were thus practically, though not legally, excluded from the legislature.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Effects of the Penal Laws.

The grants of extensive forfeitures to several English proprietors was the first great cause of absenteeism, which is usually reckoned one of the chief causes of misery in Ireland. It is certainly absurd to say that evil has not resulted from this system; but it is just as absurd to suppose, that compulsory residence would be a remedy. The mere fact of the landlord living in Ireland or England would make little difference, if the Irish still continued to export their raw produce, and import all manufactured articles; for there would be still the same impediment to the accumulation of capital, and the exercise of collective industry. Absenteeism is a part, and by no means the worst part, of a destructive system of land-letting, which arose from the joint operation of forfeitures and the penal laws. A great portion of Irish lands is held on leases of lives, renewable for ever, or on leases of extraordinary duration. These tenures arose from the uncertainty of property. The persons to whom estates were granted, eagerly embraced any offer made to them by persons residing on or near the lands. Many of them were English proprietors, and never intended to visit Ireland. Others had learned to dread the peasantry, and sought refuge in the towns. Both classes were glad to get a certain

rent, however disproportioned, when they considered the uncertainty of their possessions. In consequence of this, a regular subordination of landlords, sometimes six or seven, existed between the proprietor and the actual tiller of the ground. Thus, the non-productive classes were disproportionately increased; for each of them was, wholly or partly, supported by his profit-rent; and as the weight of maintaining all fell upon the producers, they derived no advantage from their labours beyond a sufficiency to protract a miserable existence. The numerous class of what was usually called "poor gentlemen," now fast disappearing, became a greater curse to the country than absenteeism ever has been, or could be, —men whose property ranged from one to five hundred a year, and who chose to live on that sum in idleness, deeming trade, commerce, and honourable industry a degradation. The support of these gentlemen being derived from some lease, or share in a lease, of course fell upon the peasant, and absorbed all the fruits of his industry. The country, therefore, became, and continued wretched; because the labourers had to provide for a greatly disproportioned number of consumers.

Forfeitures placed the greater part, indeed almost the whole, of the lands in the hands of the Protestants; and the penal laws continued them in exclusive possession. Having already described the Cromwellians and their descendants, who constituted the great mass of Irish proprietors, it is needless to show how unfit such men were to be trusted with the destinies of a country. Even if we had not the evidence of an impartial witness, common sense would lead us to conclude, that these men would, in the ordinary transactions of life, exhibit the same unprincipled tyranny and injustice which their representatives had displayed in parliament. Men who, as legislators, had unscrupulously violated a solemn treaty, and enacted persecuting laws sanctioning rob-

bery and crime, could not have been kind landlords, nor equitable justices of the peace. We are not, however, left to mere reasoning, to discover the general character of the landlords in the middle of the last century. The celebrated agriculturist, Mr. Arthur Young, has recorded what he witnessed during his tour in Ireland, with all the indignation which an English gentleman feels at witnessing tyranny and oppression. His picture is not overcharged, as will be readily acknowledged by many who can remember some remnants of the system which he saw in its full bloom of perfection. He says, "The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but his will. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into the habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an honest unlimited submission. Speaking a language that is despised—professing a religion that is abhorred—and being disarmed, the poor find themselves slaves in a land of written liberty. *Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of the people being made free with, without any apprehension from the justice of a jury.* The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed offence, and he will infallibly be *called out*. The peasants know their situation too well to think of it. They can have no defence, but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat."

The Irish landlords had professed an earnest desire to surround themselves with a Protestant tenantry;

but they soon found that this would be inconsistent with what they deemed their interests. The Protestants would not pay the extravagant rents demanded by the landlords, and were of course rejected. They emigrated in thousands to North America, and furnished the states with a body of determined soldiery, at the moment they were about to commence their contest with Great Britain.

Nor was this the only cause of the disappearance of Protestantism among the lower ranks. The inefficiency, the negligence, and, in many cases, the immorality of the established clergy, were at this unhappy period perfectly scandalous. Their anxiety was to diminish their congregations, and make their parishes perfect sinecures. To the lower ranks of their flocks they were utter strangers, and would have looked upon any attempt to force intercourse as unpardonable impertinence. The great defect in the constitution of the church of England is, that it makes no provision for the instruction of the poor and ignorant. The sublime service, and simple but touching eloquence of the liturgy, loses much of its effect by constant repetition; but when read carelessly, in the style of a school-boy hurrying over a disagreeable task, its efficacy is wholly lost. The sermons are by no means an adequate substitute for the instruction that should be conveyed by personal communication: a well-written essay, in elegant and classical language, read from the pulpit, is really a very inefficient means of conveying religious knowledge to the illiterate and uninstructed. Irish Protestants have frequently boasted that theirs is the religion of gentlemen—can they forget that such is not the boast of Christianity? A higher merit than the restoration of sight to the blind, health to the sick, or even life to the dead, was, that "to the poor the gospel is preached." The church of Rome, with more wisdom, insists on a personal intercourse between the priest and his flock, by the institution of

confession. That this is liable to abuse, nay, that it has frequently been abused, is incontrovertible; but equally certain is it, that confession has been the source of many and great benefits. The first reformers felt this; and, in the rubric, required some such intercourse between the minister and the congregation, as a preparation for receiving the sacrament; but if ever practised in the reformed church, it soon fell into disuse; and the legal desecration of the sacrament, by making it a political test, rendered the revival of it impossible.

Another cause for the decay of Protestantism was the want of service in the Irish language. Whether the liturgy, in their own beloved tongue, would have reconciled the Irish to a religion known to them only as the great source of their national calamities, may perhaps be doubtful; but the experiment was never tried, and the Irish church could not discern the ludicrous inconsistency of preaching against the church of Rome, for keeping the service of the mass in an unknown tongue, while it itself inflicted penalties on millions for not attending service in a language almost equally unknown.

Persecution drew still closer the ties that united the priests to the people. Both were cruelly oppressed by the "Protestant ascendency," and mutual suffering has ever been a source of firm friendship. The poor Protestant felt sensibly the difference between a pastor, who scarcely deigned to recognise his existence, and one who would be his comforter, his adviser, his guide, and his friend. Such a spectacle daily before his eyes, was a more powerful argument than the most laborious treatise on the differences between the churches. Reason might show, that the opinions of the Protestant rector were the better; but reason and feeling united to prove that the conduct of the Catholic priest was more in accordance with the precepts of the gospel, and the conduct of the apostles. So powerful, indeed, was

the effect of the contrast, that but for the labours of the Methodists and other dissenters, whose preachers mixed with the people, there would now be scarcely a single Protestant among the lower ranks in Ireland.

But with whatever other negligences the church of Ireland may be charged, carelessness in the exaction of tithes is assuredly not among the number. Thrown by the law on the miserable tillers of the soil for support, the majority of the clergy employed a class of men, called tithe-proctors, to collect their revenues; and never was there a greater scourge inflicted on an unfortunate country. Their exactions, their cruelties, their oppressions, would furnish materials for volumes; and would even then convey but a faint image of the intolerable misery they occasioned. The Irish law of tithe was far more severe than the English; it armed the parson with greater powers; it took from the farmer every means of defence against illegal overcharges. If the Irish clergy and their proctors had been angels, they must have been corrupted by the system; but they were not even the best of men; and they used their tremendous power in its fullest extent. If any thing further was required to alienate the hearts of the Irish peasantry from the reformed religion, it was to be found in the exactions of the tithemongers; for how could the cotter love, or even respect, pastors who seized the fruits of his industry, and snatched the last morsel from the mouths of his starving family?

The oppressions of the landlords and the tithemongers produced their natural effect. The peasants, driven to despair, broke out in agrarian insurrections, which soon became formidable. The Protestant labourers of the north took the title "Hearts of Oak;" those of the south, from wearing their shirts outside their clothes, were denominated "Whiteboys." They committed the most alarm-

ing outrages, and inflicted the most revolting cruelties, on all whom they deemed the authors of their wrongs. There was not a man in Ireland ignorant of the cause of these disturbances; but the rulers of the land were neither willing to acknowledge their tyranny, nor inclined to cease from their rapacity. They adopted the usual favourite remedy of Irish legislators, and passed a sanguinary code of laws, to which no country in Europe can furnish a parallel.

"The Whiteboys," says Mr. Young, "being labouring Catholics, met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance. The atrocious acts they were guilty of, made them the subject of general indignation. Acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary. This arose to such a height that, by one, they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repealed in the following session, marks the spirit of punishment; while others yet remain the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection."

The old cry of a popish plot was raised; and the cruelty of fear induced the leaders of the ascendency to commit new acts of tyranny, and several fell victims to the forms of law under circumstances of very doubtful guilt. Many more would have met a similar fate, but for the exertions of the judges, and especially Sir Edward Aston, chief-justice of the common pleas. He was nobly rewarded. On his return from a special commission at Clonmel, he found the roads lined by multitudes of both sexes, the friends and relatives of those whom he had rescued from destruction, invoking the blessings of

Heaven on his head, for his impartiality in the administration of justice—a blessing, of which its rarity had taught them the value.

There was, however, one victim, whose fate deserves to be recorded, not merely as an illustration of the temper of the times, but as an example of the reckless fury with which the Irish aristocracy then, and since, used to hunt down an obnoxious individual. Nicholas Sheehy, the parish-priest of Clogheen, was a man of strong, generous feeling, and full of a noble sympathy for the injured and oppressed—a sentiment which was long deemed treasonable in Ireland. He had given unpardonable offence to the gentry in the neighbourhood, by resisting their oppression of their tenantry, and denouncing magisterial tyranny. He had frequently shielded persecuted victims, and relieved those whom "the little tyrants of the fields" had reduced to misery; but his character of "village Hampden" was full of danger, even greater than that of his prototype; for in England, at the worst of times, there was some chance of obtaining justice. During the disturbances in the south, he had frequently been tried for "acting as a popish priest"—an offence then punished with transportation; but evidence sufficient for his conviction could not be obtained. A complaint was next made to government, that he had procured money from France to pay the Whiteboys, and to enlist them in the service of the Pretender. A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for Sheehy's apprehension. On hearing of this he wrote a letter to the secretary of state, offering to surrender, provided that he should not be tried at Clonmel, where his enemies would easily be able to pack a jury. His offer was accepted; he was brought to trial in Dublin, and after a laborious investigation of fourteen hours, was honourably acquitted. The evidence against him was that of a vagrant boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached

thief, taken from Clonmel jail, and bribed to give testimony by promises of pardon and reward.

His acquittal only stimulated the malice of his enemies. A report was circulated that a Whiteboy, named Bridge, had been murdered by his associates, to prevent his giving information; and Sheehy was arrested as a participator in the crime. He had reason to dread a Clonmel jury. On the very same evidence that had been rejected in Dublin, he was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. The most essential part of the evidence, we should naturally suppose, would be the proof of Bridge's death; but no such thing was attempted. In fact, it was sworn by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he had left the country; and it is notorious, that he was known to be alive several years after. During the trial, the faction that conducted the prosecution formed a guard round the court, excluding the prisoner's witnesses, and grossly insulting all who dared to speak in his favour. So far was the system of terror carried, that his attorney narrowly escaped with his life, and was forced to fly by night to Dublin.

The pretended murder of Bridge was made the pretext for the judicial murder of some other individuals obnoxious to the aristocracy of Tipperary; but the effect produced by the dying declarations of these unhappy men, caused such a strong sensation of horror, that the persecutors were stopped short in the midst of their career.

The state of morals, during this unhappy time, was deplorable; the habits of the gentry were coarse and brutal; the peasants learned all the vices of the slave. The few Catholics who pretended to conform, neither were, nor affected to be, influenced by religious principle. A certificate of having received the sacrament in the church of England was all that the law required to secure their property; and tradition records many instances of horrible profanation

that took place when the test was administered to these insincere converts. But there were also some noble examples of virtue, which it is much more pleasing to contemplate. Many Catholics made fictitious conveyances of their estates to Protestants; and there were very few instances of the violation of this confidence. A poor Protestant barber held the title-deeds of all the Catholic estates in a southern county. He would accept from them neither present nor reward, but supported himself by the labour of his own hands. His only recompense was the testimony of his own conscience, and the gratitude of those whose estates he rescued from the rapacity of the discoverers: but what more noble recompense could he have obtained?

The seats in the Irish parliament were at this time held for life, except at the demise of the crown, or when the king pleased to order a dissolution. The people had consequently little control over their representatives; and by the ingenious contrivances used to close the corporations, the Irish House of Commons became a mere mockery of representation. The English reader will scarcely credit the reality of such an anomaly as the existence of cities and towns, containing several thousand inhabitants, where the elective franchise is confined to twelve or thirteen individuals. But some such still remain; and the populous towns of Clonmel, Cashel, and Belfast have not a constituency much larger than that of Gatton or Old Sarum. If he asks why such an abuse is permitted to exist, he will be told that it is essential to the Protestant interest! If he asks for any explanation of the wicked nonsense of such a reply, he will get no answer. Where the towns contained a larger constituency, the corporations adopted an ingenious plan of selling themselves to an extensive dealer in boroughs, and by bestowing the elective franchise on his friends, dependants, and servants, they soon outnumbered

the resident freemen. This was very successfully practised in Youghal. The corporation party happened to be less numerous than the independents; but they contrived by finesse to hold an assembly of which the others were not aware, and created an overwhelming majority of non-residents. They then constituted the Earl of Shannon their patron, agreeing to return his nominees, and receiving, in return, appointments in the customs and excise; the Irish government having erected an immense number of useless places in both departments, for the special purpose of rewarding its dependants.*

The proprietors of boroughs, or rather the proprietors of the Irish parliament, for its cities and counties were virtually close boroughs, formed an anomalous body called *Undertakers*. They entered into a bargain with the government to carry all its measures in parliament, receiving in return places, pensions, and profitable jobs. Similar transactions have occasionally taken place in England, where the parties had the grace to keep them secret. But in Ireland, corruption stalked unblushingly abroad, and seemed to court the face of day. Honesty and patriotism were so lightly valued, that no one thought it worth while to lay claim to them. The two great objects of the undertakers were, to oppose the independence of the crown and the liberty of the people. The English ministry did not interfere with the oligarchy in their misgovernment of the unfortunate country, which "they insulted by their ignorance, plundered by their rapacity, and slandered by their malice." But factitious opposition to the power of the crown was an evil of a different nature, which they determined to remove. For this

* The patronage of the borough has been since transferred to the Duke of Devonshire, in consequence of his having established his right to some land on which the corporation had raised extensive stores and other buildings, about the same time that the Earl of Shannon ceased to possess political influence.

purpose, it was resolved that the lord-lieutenant, instead of visiting Ireland once in two years, and intrusting the government, in the interval, to lords-justices chosen from the undertakers, should for the future reside in Dublin, and manage in person the disposal of places, pensions, and preferments.

An unexpected result followed this change. The condition of the people was gradually improved, as the authority of government was strengthened; and, save when the old oligarchy, by lending their odious influence to a minister, contrived to gain back some portion of their old monopoly, no examples of wanton oppression on the part of the supreme power will be found in the rest of this history. It was, however, the misfortune of George the Third's reign, that most of the administrations formed in it felt afraid of the people; and that, in consequence, they entered into a new alliance with the Irish oligarchy, and intrusted that dangerous body with powers which they were afterward unable to control. Every direct exertion of British power has been uniformly in favour of the people; and Ireland continued to be oppressed, not because the British minister had too much influence, but because he had too little; being checked, controlled, and fettered by the confederacy of the boroughmongers, which knavery called, and folly believed to be, "the Protestant interest."

This beneficial change was not effected without great expense, and was made the subject of more jokes, good and bad, than will bear to be recorded. Lord Townshend, the viceroy appointed to effect the revolution, possessed a large share of the convivial talents so highly appreciated in Ireland; he easily collected about the Castle the inferior dependants of the great boroughmongers, and purchased the transfer of their allegiance by the united influence of cash and claret. This was described as "an attempt to monopolize the manufacture of legis-

lators, by purchasing up the raw material;' and the needy crowd that thronged the upper Castle yard, pacing the narrow precincts in hopes of reward, were said to be employed in "ploughing the half acre;" for so much did its area contain.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Legislative Independence of the Irish Parliament.

A. D. 1768.—The first great change made in the government of Ireland was the limitation of the duration of parliament; a measure pressed on the legislature by the unanimous voice of the people during seven years, and finally granted in consequence of a dispute between the Irish oligarchy and the English government. To increase their own popularity, and at the same time to bring odium on Lord Townshend's administration, the Irish parliament, during several successive sessions, presented the heads of a septennial bill to the privy council, certain that the measure would never be sanctioned by that body. The privy council at length became weary of this annual farce, and in a fit of ill-humour transmitted the bill to England. The English ministry, justly enraged at the fierce opposition which the measures of government received from the leaders of the Irish aristocracy, returned the bill, with the single alteration of substituting eight for seven years; and the Irish parliament, caught in its own toils, was forced to pass the bill into a law. Nothing can be conceived more ludicrous than the consternation of the pretended patriots who had clamoured for the bill, when they learned that the English government had deter-

mined to make the concession. They had for years declared that the measure was essential to the salvation of the country, and poured out the fiercest invectives against the statesmen by whom it was opposed; but they never dreamed that their labours would have been successful; and when an event so contrary to their wishes and expectations occurred, they could not conceal the bitterness of their mortification. The nation in general was well aware of the hypocrisy to which it owed its success, and with creditable forbearance, abstained from overwhelming the authors of the measure with unwelcome thanks and gratulations.

The new parliament had scarcely assembled, when the House of Commons became involved in a dispute with the viceroy, on a point of constitutional privilege. A money-bill, which had been planned in England, was rejected by the Commons after the first reading, because it had not originated in their house. Lord Townshend, in a rage, sent an angry protest against their proceedings, which the Commons refused to enter on their journals. The Lords were more submissive; and after a fierce but brief struggle, allowed the viceroy's protest to be inserted in their records. The court having suffered several other defeats on questions of less moment, Lord Townshend determined to prorogue the parliament, after a brief session of two months, and to try if, during the recess, any impression could be made on the bands of Irish patriots. After an interval of fourteen months, the parliament was reassembled, and the partisans of the court were found to possess an overwhelming majority. The Commons, in their address, returned thanks to the king, for continuing Lord Townshend in the government. Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker, indignant at witnessing this degradation, resigned the chair, rather than carry up such an address. He was succeeded by Mr. Edmond

Sexton Pery, who had been converted from a patriot into a courtier, by a process of manufacture not unfrequently used in the Irish parliament.

The rapacity of the agent of an absentee nobleman, the Marquis of Donegal, produced a fierce agrarian insurrection in the county of Antrim, which soon extended over the greater part of Ulster. The insurgents named themselves *Hearts of Steel*, to show the firmness of their resolution. They determined not to pay the extravagant rents and fines demanded by the landlords and their agents, and to destroy the cattle and houses of any tenants who should take the land "over their heads." By the exertions of the military, several of the steel-men were arrested and brought to trial at Carrickfergus; but they were acquitted, from the supposed partiality of the witnesses and the juries. The Irish aristocracy, enraged at being disappointed of the expected vengeance on their revolted vassals, passed a law, that trials for insurrectionary offences should be held in counties different from those in which the crimes had been committed. Some of the insurgents were, in consequence, brought to trial in Dublin; but the juries, disgusted at such an arbitrary and unconstitutional proceeding, acquitted the prisoners without hesitation. This infamous law was repealed during the administration of Lord Harcourt, and the juries in the disturbed districts were at the same time induced to do their duty with firmness. After several of the insurgents had been convicted and executed, the disturbances were suppressed; but an immense number of the Ulster Protestants sought refuge from the rapacity of their landlords in the wilds of America.

A. D. 1776.—The haughty and oppressive spirit which the British government had so long displayed to the British colonies and dependencies at length produced the dire effects which every man of sense had long predicted. The states of North America, justly irritated at the insane attempt of the British

parliament to tax them without their own consent, took up arms, and set the mother country at defiance. The history of the eventful struggle, which, at the end of six years, terminated in the acknowledgment of the American republic, belongs not to this work. We must however remark, that the war for the subjugation of the Americans was at first decidedly popular in England. From the habit of using the phrase "*our* colonies," there was not an English peasant who did not regard the colonists as rebels against himself, and as enemies to some fancied authority and power, which he deemed the privilege of every Englishman by his birthright. Ireland was regarded as a province even more completely at the disposal of England; and, after the American war had been formally commenced, the dangerous effect of such an example on a nation still more grievously oppressed, was a circumstance that quite escaped the notice of the statesmen to whom the destinies of the country had been intrusted. They remained in a state of ignorant apathy, until they had brought the government to the very brink of ruin, and exposed the country to the horrors of civil war, from which it was saved almost by accident. The American colonies had afforded the most extensive and profitable markets for the sale of Irish linens; but the war closed the trade, and the linen manufactures soon experienced a severe decline. At the same time, by an unusual and scarcely constitutional exertion of the prerogative, an embargo was laid on the exportation of Irish provisions, under pretence of preventing supplies to the revolted colonies, but in reality to enable certain powerful contractors to fulfil their engagements with ease and profit. The consequence of this profligate job was general misery throughout the nation, at the very moment that it was called upon to make unusual exertions to suppress the American revolt. So manifest were the distresses of Ireland, that on the motion of Earl

Nugent, the British parliament, in April, 1778, passed several resolutions, declaring the expediency of removing many of the restrictions which had been imposed on Irish commerce. The commercial jealousy of England was, however, unfortunately aroused; petitions against opening the trade of Ireland poured in from every side; and those from Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow menaced rebellion in no very obscure terms, if the parliament should persevere in its proposed course of wisdom and justice. The English premier, Lord North, had sense enough to perceive that these concessions were demanded by sound policy, but he had not firmness to withstand the popular clamour. The bills founded on Lord Nugent's resolutions were rejected; and Ireland, so far as the British parliament was concerned, sentenced to hopeless misery. Lord North showed more firmness on another question. Acts for repealing some of the penal laws, and for permitting Catholics to acquire property in land, so far as a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, were sanctioned by the British and Irish parliaments, but not without encountering a fierce and vehement opposition.

A. D. 1778.—The resistance of the English merchants to the opening of the Irish trade spread general dissatisfaction—the more dangerous as Ireland had lately obtained a species of national guard, an army composed of citizen-soldiers, whose remonstrances could not be neglected with impunity. There are few Irishmen of the present day who can speak of those celebrated men, the Volunteers, without feelings of enthusiastic admiration; for they, without bloodshed, raised their country from a degraded province to the dignity of a nation, and created the first sources of the little prosperity that Ireland has been permitted to enjoy. Though a volunteer corps had been formed some years previously in the county of Wexford for suppressing the

nocturnal devastations of the Whiteboys, yet to the town of Belfast must mainly be attributed the chief origin of this national army. In the year 1778 the sun of England's glory seemed to have set; the high and palmy days of the British flag were gone; American privateers swept the narrow seas, and captured our vessels in sight of our coasts; the French threatened an invasion; and there was neither a fleet nor an army capable of resisting them. At this unpropitious period, the people of Belfast, alarmed at their unprotected state, petitioned the government for a garrison; and received as an answer, that half a troop of dismounted cavalry, and half a company of invalids, constituted all the force that could be spared! Deserted by the government, the inhabitants of that spirited town prepared to defend themselves. They formed a corps of volunteers, elected officers, and took active measures to give their new soldiers discipline and efficiency. Several other towns followed the example; and the government, urged by the necessity of the case, supplied their new defenders with sixteen thousand stand of arms. In the year 1779 Spain acceded to the hostile confederacy which had been formed against Great Britain. A combined fleet rode triumphant in the British Channel; and nothing but ignorance of its defenceless situation prevented the French and Spanish admirals from destroying the port of Plymouth. In this moment of doubt and danger, such additional activity was shown by the Irish in organizing their new national force, that the number of volunteers in a short time amounted to forty-two thousand, all animated with the warmest feelings of patriotism and loyalty. So formidable was their aspect, that the enemy resigned all thoughts of an invasion; and so tranquil was the island, that never at any subsequent period has it been more free from disturbances of an insurrectionary character.

The Irish parliament was imboldened by the sup-

port of the national army to make some exertions to attain independence. In the October of 1779 it was unanimously resolved to present an address to the viceroy, declaring that "nothing but a free trade could save the nation from impending ruin." The address was carried up by the speaker to the Castle, through the ranks of the Dublin volunteers, who lined the streets in their arms and uniforms, amid the loud acclamations of the populace, inspired with hope that the national distress would be speedily relieved. The unanimous thanks of the Commons were voted to the independent companies for the readiness they had shown to defend their country in the moment of danger; and a similar resolution was adopted in the Lords, with the single dissentient voice of Lifford, the lord-chancellor. The Commons, to mark more strongly their determination to obtain redress of their commercial grievances, granted the supplies for six months only, and passed a resolution, declaring that the granting of new taxes would, under existing circumstances, be inexpedient. These spirited declarations of the Commons were followed by resolutions at several county meetings against the use of English manufactures. Such was their effect that Lord North introduced, without opposition, two bills, granting to the Irish traders greater advantages than had been already proposed by Lord Nugent; but, with a reckless disregard of national feeling, which has been since more than once imitated by British statesmen, he accompanied the concession with some insulting declarations, which prevented the favour from being received with gratitude. The English minister declared that the opening of the Irish trade was a boon from the English parliament, resumable at pleasure. The Irish were indignant at being told that they held their commerce by so precarious a tenure, and determined to secure it by establishing the independence of their own legislature.

Meetings were held by several bands of the volunteers, and resolutions adopted, asserting the sole right of legislation for Ireland to rest in her own king and parliament; and at a meeting of the Dublin volunteers in the summer of 1780, at which the Duke of Leinster presided, a vote was passed, almost tantamount to a declaration of war, which was subsequently adopted by the greater number of the independent companies in Ireland. This celebrated resolution stated, "that the king, lords, and commons of Ireland only were competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm; and that they would not obey or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes." The Irish parliament by no means sympathized with the enthusiasm of the volunteers; the session of 1780 was spent in a vigorous struggle between a minority, supported by rank, talent, and the unanimous voice of the nation, and a purchased majority, which rendered all the labour of the patriots ineffectual by monosyllabic votes. The English cabinet thought that their viceroy, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, had not shown sufficient firmness in resisting the efforts of the opposition; he was therefore recalled, and the government of Ireland intrusted to the Earl of Carlisle. But to check the growth of the volunteers was now beyond the power of government: their numbers amounted to fifty thousand; and in a review at Belfast, five thousand four hundred of the citizen-soldiers appeared in the field, with a train of thirteen pieces of artillery. Though greatly alarmed, the government could not venture to discourage this formidable force; and every pretext for throwing any imputations on their loyalty was removed by the readiness with which, on the renewed threats of an invasion, they offered their services for the defence of their country.

The volunteers did not, however, confine themselves to the defence of their country against a foreign foe, the original purpose for which they had taken up arms; they were firmly determined on procuring for their native land a free commerce, secured by an independent legislature. Their hopes of obtaining the assistance of their own parliament were frustrated in the session of 1781. A ministerial majority negatived every resolution for a declaration of rights, and every motion for giving Ireland the full enjoyment of the British constitution. Two bills, however, were passed for a further relaxation of the penal laws, without any apparent interference of the ministry. The northern volunteers, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, disappointed by the conduct of the House of Commons, assembled at Armagh in the latter part of December, and, after passing several resolutions bitterly condemning parliamentary corruption, invited the different independent companies to send delegates to some central town in Ulster, in order to deliberate on the situation of public affairs. It was subsequently arranged that the convention should assemble at Dungannon in the February of the ensuing year.

A. D. 1782.—The meeting of the delegates, dreaded as a dangerous measure by the best friends of Ireland, and by none more than the virtuous and patriotic Lord Charlemont, who presided over the volunteers, took place at the time appointed. The greater part of the resolutions were prepared by Lord Charlemont, aided by Flood and Grattan, the two great orators of the Irish Commons; by which prudential precaution much of the violence which might have been expected from such an assembly was prevented. The delegates of one hundred and forty-three companies met; and the number in these companies, and in those that subsequently acceded to their resolutions, was not less than one hundred thousand men, well armed, and possessing eighty-eight pieces

of artillery. The three most important resolutions of this truly formidable body were as follows:—

"Resolved, that a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and *a grievance.*

"Resolved, that the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional, and *a grievance.*"

"Resolved, that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and *a grievance.*"

To give these resolutions more effect, committees of correspondence were formed, and a national committee appointed to regulate the entire system.

What would have been the consequences if the British ministry had persevered in their refusal to redress these grievances is now fortunately matter of conjecture. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in Virginia lost America to Great Britain, but preserved Ireland. Lord North's imbecile administration was forced to resign, and a new ministry formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Fox; one of whose earliest measures was to bestow on Ireland her full share of the rights and blessings secured by the British constitution. The Duke of Portland was sent over as lord-lieutenant, in the room of the Earl of Carlisle; and in his first message to the Irish legislature he promised a full repeal of those grievances of which Ireland had so justly complained. The enthusiasm produced, within and without the walls of parliament, is indescribable. A hundred thousand pounds were unanimously voted for the service of the navy, and fifty thousand pounds presented to Grattan himself, as a testimony of national gratitude for the zeal and ability with which he had contended for the rights of his country.

The great revolution of 1782 conferred on Ireland

a greater blessing than England had derived from that of 1688. The country was raised from its degraded provincial state, to take its rank among the European nations; its natural capabilities for commerce, which had long been sacrificed to a cruel and unwise jealousy, began to be cultivated; and these advantages were obtained without a drop of blood being shed in the contest. But Irish writers, in their enthusiastic admiration of this glorious period, momentarily forgot that Ireland remained still subject to all the evils of internal misgovernment—still under the control of the Cromwellian oligarchy—still disgraced by a penal code which denied a political existence to three-fourths of the population. When these matters are taken into consideration, it may fairly be doubted that the new constitution was fraught with those extravagant advantages which have been ascribed to it by many historians. It changed but slightly the character of the evils to which the unfortunate country had been so long exposed; in short, the revolution was incomplete, and the new constitution added to some of the most glaring defects of the old others peculiarly its own. Had the Rockingham ministry continued in power —had the Irish patriots in parliament preserved their unanimity—or had the volunteers laid aside their Protestant prejudices, and identified themselves with the great body of the nation, results truly glorious might have followed; but the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the disputes between Mr. Fox and the Earl of Shelburne, and finally, the defeat of the India bill, drove the whigs from power: the Irish patriots, divided into small parties, assailed each other rather than the common enemy; and the volunteers, while they clamoured for freedom, were determined to rivet the chains which bound the majority of their countrymen. The Irish oligarchy regarded these accidents and blunders with no incurious or uninteresting glance. Their leaders

waited with patience until the momentary enthusiasm of the nation had been cooled by the idle bickerings of the patriots and the absurd bigotry of the volunteers. They had not long to wait. The time which they had so wisely anticipated soon arrived; they resumed the reins of power; re-established their old system of cruelty and corruption; and subjected the unfortunate country to another course of oppression, misery, and degradation.

CHAPTER XX.

The History of the Irish Legislature during the Period of its Independence.

The first cause of dispute between the leaders of the Irish patriots was with respect to securing the newly-acquired independence of their legislature. Mr. Flood, and a small but active party, asserted that the simple repeal of the declaratory acts asserting the supremacy of the British parliament was insufficient, because the claim of right was not expressly conceded; on the other hand, Mr. Grattan, with an overwhelming majority, contended that, under all the circumstances of the case, the simple repeal was a virtual renunciation of all British legislative and judicial authority over Ireland. The point at issue was, practically, of little moment; but the vigour and virulence with which it was contested raised it into importance. The sarcasms interchanged between the leaders were unequalled in the annals of vituperative eloquence. Flood described his opponent as "the mendicant patriot who was bought by his country for money, and then sold that country for prompt payment." Grattan described his antagonist as "an ominous bird of prey with cadaverous aspect, sepulchral notes, and broken beak,

meditating to pounce upon his quarry." He divided his political life into three periods; and said that, "in the first, he was intemperate; in the second corrupt; in the last seditious:" and, after a bitter exposure of the whole course of Flood's public career, concluded thus: "Such has been your conduct, and at such conduct every order of your fellow-subjects have a right to exclaim. The merchant may say to you, the constitutionalist may say to you, the American may say to you, and I now say to you, and say to your beard, sir—you are not an honest man!"

The conduct of the English chief-justice soon proved that Flood was not altogether wrong in looking on England with jealousy. Notwithstanding the repeal of the laws that gave the English judicature supremacy over Ireland, Lord Mansfield received, and gave judgment on an appeal from the Irish court of King's Bench. Discontent began to spread rapidly; but, fortunately, the whigs were still in power; and in the month of January, 1783, they introduced a bill into the British parliament "for removing and preventing all doubts which may have arisen concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature." It was passed into a law with little opposition; and thus the independence of Ireland was fully established. But the forces by which the triumph had been obtained were broken, never again to be reunited.

The defects in the constitution of the English House of Commons were so manifest at the close of the American war, that many English statesmen declared themselves reformers, and prepared plans for a more equal representation of the people. The greater number of these patriots, however, subsequently changed sides, and bitterly persecuted those who advocated projects which they had themselves described as essential to the safety of the realm.

The original example was not lost on the Irish volunteers, who knew that the English House of Commons, with all its defects, was a model of purity compared with that of Ireland. It was determined to assemble a convention, similar to that which had formerly met at Dungannon; and delegates were elected by the volunteers in the different counties to meet in Dublin, and devise the best mode to remedy the defects in the representation. The delegates elected on this occasion were chosen from the most stanch and violent reformers in the country; and it will perhaps amaze some of my readers to learn, that among them were to be found the right honourable Robert Stewart, known to Europe under the name of Lord Castlereagh; Mr. Robert Day, who afterward became an Irish judge, and the guardian of an Irish borough during the minority of the proprietors; and Sir Richard Musgrave, who afterward wrote countless pamphlets to prove that patriotism was treason. But Ireland is not the only country in which recreant reformers have become the most fierce and unprincipled supporters of despotic power.

The plan of reform proposed by the convention of delegates was presented to the House of Commons in November, 1783, by Mr. Flood, amid great public excitement, not unmingled with apprehension. It was opposed by Yelverton the attorney-general, on the plausible ground that it emanated from a body of armed men, who attempted illegally to overawe the legislature; and was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The convention did not exhibit on this occasion the spirit which was hoped by its friends, and feared by its enemies. After passing a declaratory resolution, that "they would individually exert themselves in the cause of parliamentary reform," and agreeing to a very tame address to the king in the name of the "volunteers of Ireland," it was adjourned indefinitely. This lame and impotent

conclusion is explained by the fact that most of the reformers became soon after place-holders and receivers of pensions.

The dismissal of the coalition ministry and the accession to power of Mr. Pitt, the pledged advocate of reform, inspired Flood with hopes which were soon disappointed. Mr. Pitt went through the mockery of proposing a measure of reform in England, but allowed himself to be defeated by his own creatures; and he soon after gave a full proof of his insincerity, by checking the projects of the reformers with a vigour not always restrained within the limits of constitutional law. The disappointment of the Irish people was great, and it was aggravated by the continuance of certain commercial restrictions which the English still imposed on the trade of Ireland. The latter grievance Mr. Pitt was anxious to remove; and at his instigation Mr. Secretary Orde laid before the Irish parliament eleven propositions, as the basis of an equitable commercial treaty between England and Ireland. These propositions were drawn up in a spirit of wisdom and liberality that had no parallel in the annals of the Irish government. They were, however, opposed by some of the more violent patriots, but were finally adopted with the general consent and applause of the nation. Far different was their reception in England. The blind and malignant system of commercial jealousy, which has been so often the bane of English commerce, was aroused. Petitions against the bill were poured in from England and Scotland. Pitt, after a brief resistance, preferred on this as on other occasions the retention of power to the preservation of rectitude and consistency: he consented to such additions, mutilations, and changes, that the whole basis of the system was altered; and the twenty propositions finally adopted by the British parliament bore little or no resemblance to the eleven that had been transmitted from Ireland. The Irish parlia-

ment had, on the faith of the eleven propositions, granted to the minister additional taxes to the amount of 140,000 pounds; and, mean and truckling as that body always was, it could not on the present occasion avoid manifesting some symptoms of indignation for the mingled treachery and contumely with which it had been treated. When Mr. Orde introduced the bill founded on the English propositions, he encountered a storm of resistance which he had by no means anticipated. The utmost exertions of government could only command a majority of nineteen in a very full house; and the minister, unable to depend on the continuance even of this support, gave up the bill. The defeat of the minister was celebrated by a general illumination. Resolutions against the use of English manufactures were adopted in several popular assemblies; and numerous mobs paraded Dublin, avowing their determination "to burn every thing belonging to England *except coals!*"

The government of Ireland was at this time administered by the Duke of Rutland, a nobleman beloved for his open, liberal, and convivial behaviour; but whose sway deserves the severest reprobation, for the unblushing profligacy and licentiousness which then sprang up amid the higher ranks of life. The scenes of the worst days of Charles II. and Louis XIV. were re-enacted, and even surpassed, in the Castle of Dublin. The pernicious consequences of the encouragement then given to vice and dissipation were long felt in Ireland. A demoralized gentry could not possess arbitrary power without abusing it; and the oppression of the tenantry kept pace with the increasing profligacy of their landlords. Several agrarian insurrections broke out in the south of Ireland; the peasants were sworn to obey the commands of Captain Right, who, like the Captain Rock and Terry Alt of modern times, was merely an imaginary personage. The first efforts of the insurgents were directed against the system

of tithes—that great source of Irish misery and discontent. The gentry did not interfere effectually while the attacks of the Right-boys were confined to the church; but when they began to prepare a tariff for rents, the alarm of insurrection was raised, and a bill for the prevention of illegal assemblies and combinations brought into the House of Commons by the attorney-general Fitzgibbon, afterward Earl of Clare.

The picture drawn by this gentleman of the distress to which the Irish peasants are subjected by the rapacity of their landlords would be scarcely credible, if the existence of similar evil at the present hour did not furnish us with ocular demonstration on the subject. He said, "that the peasants, ground to powder by enormous rents, could not procure the ordinary necessaries of life; that some landlords had incited the tenantry to rob the clergy of their tithes, not to alleviate distress, but to add the difference to their own rack-rents; and that the peasantry of Munster, bound to pay six pounds an acre in rent, and to work for their landlords at the rate of fivepence per day, could no longer exist in their present state of wretchedness." Nearly half a century has elapsed since this memorable speech was delivered; and the abominable system which it so powerfully exposed has been but slightly ameliorated. Laws have since been passed in countless numbers to aid the landlord against the tenant; but no law to protect the tenant from the avaricious despotism of the landlord could ever meet the sanction of the Irish legislature; for rulers have always found it more easy to coerce the aggrieved than to redress grievances.

After the death of the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Temple, created Marquis of Buckingham, was appointed viceroy. His first act was a severe scrutiny into the management of the fiscal departments at the Castle; and the amount of peculation which he dis-

covered was enormous. The frauds detected were so gross that nothing but the most inconceivable negligence, or a secret participation in the spoils, can account for their having escaped the cognizance of former viceroys. The zeal of the marquis in detecting abuses, however, soon cooled. The British ministry was almost forced to govern Ireland by systematic corruption, after the independence of its legislature had been once established; three-fourths of the members of parliament were the nominees of borough-mongers; and those who represented cities were elected by corporations far more corrupt than the worst trafficker in seats that ever existed.

A. D. 1789.—Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure by which Pitt's ministry had purchased a preponderating influence in the Irish parliament, a case soon occurred which showed that the affection and support of his creatures were regulated more by the prospect of rewards than the retrospect of favours. The mental derangement of George III. threatened to hurl the minister from his elevation; for the Prince of Wales was personally and politically connected with the whigs. To avert this danger Pitt brought into the British parliament a bill, imposing so many restrictions on the regent that his exercise of royal power would have been a mere mockery. In the British parliament the minister succeeded; but many of the Irish borough-proprietors, believing his majesty's recovery hopeless, resolved to be foremost in their worship of the rising sun, and by a large majority voted to the Prince of Wales the regency of the kingdom, unfettered by any restrictions. Fortunately, before any hostile collision could arise from the repugnant decisions of the two parliaments, his majesty recovered; and the Prince of Wales could only express his gratitude for the unbounded confidence tendered to him by the people of Ireland. From this moment the project of the Union seems to have been ever present to Mr.

Pitt's mind. It needed but little political sagacity to discover that a renewed repugnancy of decision between two imperial legislatures must inevitably lead to a contest, and probably to a separation; and it showed that all the agency of corruption could not secure a majority when hopes of greater advantages were offered.

If any thing further was necessary to prove that "the Irish parliament was a nuisance which ought to be abated," it may be found in the facility with which the majority returned to their allegiance as soon as they heard of the king's recovery, and the minister's consequent stability. The Marquis of Buckingham, disgusted at being made the unpopular instrument of profligate corruption, retired from Ireland in June, and was succeeded by the Earl of Westmoreland, whose administration was characterized by a system of bribery still more extensive. Peerages were notoriously sold; and the money thus infamously raised was as infamously expended in purchasing seats in the lower House for the minions of government; and so public were these transactions that the official members, when charged with their delinquency, did not attempt to deny the charge. In concluding his speech on the sale of peerages, Mr. Grattan, in the name of the little minority that opposed the destructive and disgraceful system pursued by the Irish administration, used the following pointed and powerful words:—"We charge them publicly, in the face of the country, with making corrupt agreements for the sale of peerages; for doing which we say that they are impeachable. We charge them with corrupt agreements for the disposal of the money arising from the sale, to purchase for the servants of the Castle seats in the assembly of the people; for doing which we say that they are impeachable. We charge them with committing these offences, not in one, nor in two, but in many instances; for which complication

of offences we say that they are impeachable—guilty of a systematic endeavour to undermine the constitution in violation of the laws of the land. We pledge ourselves to convict them; we dare them to go into an inquiry: we do not affect to treat them as other than public malefactors; we speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humiliating defiance. We pronounce them to be public criminals. Will they dare to deny the charge? I call upon and dare the ostensible member to rise in his place, and say, on his honour, that he does not believe such corrupt agreements have taken place. I wait for a specific answer." Major Hobart, the Irish secretary, refused to give any reply, on the ground that an inquiry into the motives for raising persons to the peerage was trenching on the royal prerogative.

It was not to be expected that such a system of government could be continued without provoking the opposition of all who had any regard for the interests of their country, or the maintenance of public virtue. Many persons, whose attention had been directed to politics by the stirring events of 1782, disgusted with the profligacy of the administration and the subserviency of parliament, directed their attention to the reform of the constitution, and formed themselves into different societies for the purpose, which were all finally lost in the general association of United Irishmen. Coercion was therefore brought to the aid of corruption; arbitrary fines were imposed on the editors of papers; public meetings were forcibly dispersed, and those who presided at them marked out for the vengeance of the government; and the facility with which the volunteers had been overthrown led the Irish oligarchy to suppose that their power was irresistible. But though the leaders of the patriotic clubs were Protestants, and many of them deeply tinged with the prejudices of their ancestors, they avoided the fatal error of their predecessors, and advocated the constitutional rights of

their Catholic countrymen. The Catholic body itself had undergone a great change. The number of Catholic families that had emigrated at the revolution, and formed commercial establishments in various parts of Europe, was very great; and when, almost at the same moment, the trade of Ireland was opened, and the property of Catholics secured by law, the members of that communion who engaged in commerce soon outstripped their Protestant rivals. The Catholic aristocracy, fettered by the privileges and prejudices of their order, and in many instances as conspicuous for the oppression of their tenantry as any of the Protestant oligarchy, refused to become the head of the movement made by the general body. The Catholics were therefore compelled to seek leaders in the middle ranks of life, and they found men conspicuous for energy and talent; but, as was to be expected, not very remarkable for prudence or moderation.

At the moment when the delinquency of the Irish government was most flagrant—when a large body of the Protestants eagerly sought for reform, and the entire Catholic body as zealously sought for emancipation—the French revolution burst forth, and convulsed all Europe to its centre. The conduct of the Irish administration at this crisis was mournfully ludicrous. In 1792 the petition of the Roman Catholics for the extension of the elective franchise to their body, and the petition of the Protestants of Belfast in their favour, were rejected with circumstances of great contumely. During the parliamentary recess, the different grand juries were directly encouraged by the government to adopt very strong resolutions against further concessions to the Catholics. Having thus raised the hopes of the violent Protestants, and provoked the just enmity of the Catholics, the government, to the utter astonishment of both parties, early in the session of 1793 introduced a bill for extending the elective franchise to

the Catholics, which passed into a law by nearly the same majority that only a few months before had voted against even taking the subject into consideration. Several popular and conciliatory measures were at the same time adopted; among others, leave was given to bring in a bill for amending the state of the popular representation; and a bill for disqualifying certain placemen was actually passed. The minority in return supported the minister in several coercive measures; such as, an act against the importation of arms and military stores, an act against conventions, and an act for raising a militia. The plan of parliamentary reform, which had been prepared apparently with the implied sanction, or at least neutrality, of the ministry, was rejected in 1794 by a great majority; but there was, however, some reason to hope that measures of justice and conciliation would yet be adopted, and the fatal calamities of civil war averted.

A. D. 1795.—It seems evident that Mr. Pitt, at this period, was anxious to bestow on Ireland those blessings of a good and impartial government with which the island had been almost wholly unacquainted for centuries; and that his wise and benevolent intentions were defeated by the aristocratic faction of which he was at once the master and the slave. On the 4th of January Earl Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland as viceroy, and his presence was hailed with enthusiastic delight by all; but the base faction that had hitherto monopolized and abused the administration once more blighted the hopes of the nation. Bills for the complete emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and for the remedy of the flagrant abuses in the police establishment, were introduced with little opposition; but before any further steps could be taken, intelligence arrived that the recall of the popular lord-lieutenant had been determined by the British cabinet. This fatal resolution was owing to the influence of the Beresfords,

irritated at the dismissal of one of their family from office. Fitzwilliam had too many examples in Irish history of the manner in which official underlings had contrived to defeat the beneficent intentions of the chief governors, not to make a change of men accompany a change of measures; but, unfortunately for the country, he relied for support on the honour and firmness of a minister who had all along through public life sacrificed both to the caprices and prejudices of the aristocracy.

With the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam the civil history of Ireland terminates. The administration of Earl Camden was in fact an open war between two parties equally hostile to the true interests of the nation. In the language of Mr. Grattan, "Two desperate parties were in arms against the constitution. On the one side there was the camp of the rebel; on the other the camp of the minister, a greater traitor than that rebel; and the treason of the minister against the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the minister."

The leaders of the minority struggled in vain to check the measures of coercion adopted by government—measures that would have been pre-eminent for atrocity in the age of Nero, or at the worst period of the Turkish annals. They proposed, in their stead, measures of justice and conciliation, which were sternly rejected. Lord Moira, in the British House of Lords, and Mr. Fox, in the British Commons, in vain besought the interposition of the supreme power to check the excesses of the local government: Pitt yielded to the Beresfords, but was deaf to the cries of a nation; and the moments when yet conciliation would have preserved tranquillity were suffered to pass by. The opposition in the Irish parliament, finding that their warnings were unheeded, and that they were personally pointed out as objects of vengeance to the violent portion of the faction which had gathered round the government,

determined to secede. Mr. Grattan, on the night Mr. Ponsonby brought forward his last measure of conciliation, announced this determination on the part of himself and his colleagues in the following words: "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it. We deprecate yours; you will persevere. Having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and, after this day, shall not attend the House of Commons."

The parliament was soon after dissolved. True to his declaration, Mr. Grattan declined to become a candidate for Dublin, and took leave of his constituents in an address which will last as long as the English people. The new parliament was almost wholly devoted to the faction of the ascendency, and of course essentially hostile to the nation. It soon precipitated a convulsion which covered its members with disgrace, and flooded the country with blood; and when the measure of its crimes was full, laid violent hands upon itself, and punished its own enormities by a just act of judicial suicide.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Insurrection of 1798.

"There was mixed with the public cause, in that struggle, ambition, sedition, and violence. But no man will persuade me, that it was not the cause of liberty on the one side, and of tyranny on the other."—*Lord Chatham, speaking of the Civil Wars in the reign of Charles I.*

THE true history of the fierce struggle, usually, but improperly, called the Irish rebellion, remains to be written. It would be impossible to give, in our limited space, any thing more than the general features

of the contest; but at some future period we may probably be able to enter more fully into the truly important details. The efforts of the volunteers to obtain a reform in the Irish parliament were defeated, because that body lost the confidence of the great body of the nation, by showing an unwillingness to concede their just rights to the Catholics. A few of the body, however, entertained more liberal opinions, and they eagerly sought to unite Irishmen of every religious persuasion in the great object of securing good and impartial government for their country. The institution of the society of United Irishmen might have been the era from whence Ireland would have dated the commencement of social happiness, had the government of that day been at all disposed to strengthen itself by securing the affections of the people; but having unfortunately entered into close alliance with the ancient oligarchy, it lost the power of doing good, even when it possessed the inclination. The repeated disappointments of the hopes which some of the patriots entertained of finally obtaining justice from parliament, induced many to regard revolution as the only means by which reform could be effected. Simultaneous with the efforts of the United Irishmen to obtain reform were those of the Catholics to obtain emancipation. The reformers were chiefly dissenters, the descendants of the Scottish Presbyterians who had settled in Ulster during the reigns of James I., Charles I., and Cromwell. The Catholic leaders were principally natives of Leinster and Munster. As the objects of both were nearly similar, it was obviously their interest to unite; and a junction between the reforming dissenters and the Catholic committee was effected, chiefly by the agency of Theobald Wolfe Tone. From the very beginning, however, there was a marked and radical difference between these two parties. The dissenters, inheriting the spirit and tenets of their ancestors the Covenanters,

were mostly republicans from principle. The great body of the Catholics only became so through persecution and oppression. In the melancholy annals of the period, we find the Catholic body slowly and reluctantly yielding to the persuasions of the enthusiastic northerns; and, with manifest regret, relinquishing the attachment to monarchy, inculcated by the feudal principles of their religion. While the leaders of the Catholics and the dissenters were kept apart by these feelings, a still greater barrier was raised between the lower ranks of the respective communions, by an illegal and iniquitous system of persecution, connived at, if not directly encouraged, by the government. Fighting between factions composed of Protestants and Catholics had become a frequent practice in the county of Armagh; and had, of course, preserved alive the bitterest religious animosity between the parties. After the concession of the elective franchise to the Catholics, the hate of the lower order of Protestants was exasperated by self-interest. Previously to that event, the vote of the Protestant freeholder made him a more eligible tenant to an electioneering landlord; but now when the Catholic was permitted to compete with him on equal terms, he found the landlord inclined to take advantage of the open market, by raising his rents. In 1795, a Protestant banditti, calling themselves *Peep-of-day-boys*, served notice on most of the Catholics in the county of Armagh, to quit their farms before a certain day, threatening destruction of property, and even loss of life, in case of disobedience. To oppose this association, the Catholics formed that of the Defenders, which soon spread widely over the country, and soon proceeded from defence to aggression. Towards the close of that year, the *Peep-of-day-boys* formed themselves into an Orange Association, which was soon joined by a number of respectable and influential individuals. The professed object of the new institution was to

maintain Protestant ascendency, and the principles established at the Revolution. It is but justice to add, that the respectable portion of the Orange society was decidedly opposed to the plundering system established by their vulgar associates; but they could not control their excesses, and had subsequently to deplore that they were themselves hurried to the commission of acts of violence and cruelty, by having joined a society whose foundation was eternal hostility to the greater portion of their fellow-countrymen. The *Peep-of-day-boys* were not checked before they had driven from Armagh several hundred Catholic families. These, seeking refuge in various parts of the country, spread through the Catholic body a report, to which appearances gave some sanction, that the extermination of the Catholics was the real object of the new Orange Association.

The almost incessant warfare between landlords and tenants in the south and west of Ireland occasioned by oppression on the one hand, and intolerable misery on the other, served to swell the ranks of the Defenders; but, at the same time, the excesses committed in these agrarian insurrections disgusted, and in some degree alienated, the northern Protestants; so that the union of Catholics and dissenters was exposed to dissolution, from the very first moments of its formation. The imperfect concessions of 1793 produced a dangerous distraction in the councils of the United Irishmen. The dissenters thought that they saw in the Catholics a great lukewarmness to the general cause of liberty, and began to withdraw themselves from persons who thus would rest content with partial justice. At this crisis, the Reverend William Jackson, an emissary from France, arrived in Ireland, being sent by the French government to sound the dispositions of the Irish people. The inconceivable folly and rashness of this man's proceedings gave rise to a sus-

picion that he was secretly the spy of the British government; and his suicide alone clears his memory from the foul imputation. It is not so easy to remove the stain which this transaction affixes to the British ministry at the period. From the very beginning, all Jackson's views and intentions were known to the government. Before he came to Ireland, the object of his journey had been betrayed. He was allowed to proceed, not to detect, but to form a conspiracy, and to secure a sufficient supply of victims. This atrocious instance of designing cruelty failed to produce the desired effect. The imprudence of Jackson was so manifest, that only two or three enthusiasts committed themselves, and these contrived to make their escape. Jackson's public trial produced an unexpected consequence; it revealed to the Irish the fact that France was willing to become their ally, and gave fresh confidence to the Union from the hopes of foreign aid. The recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, followed by the adoption of measures which were tantamount to a declaration of war by the government against the people, drove an immense number into the ranks of the United Irishmen. The new converts were men of virtue and ability; they had sought constitutional reform by constitutional means, while that object seemed attainable; and even now, while preparing a revolution, they yearned for a reconciliation with the parliament, and held back from striking any decisive blow, trusting that the necessity of shedding blood might yet be averted. Among them were to be found Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Emmet, M'Nevin—men whose characters may challenge comparison with those of the purest patriots recorded in history. They reorganized the society of United Irishmen; and, in the north, where the system of organization was complete, one hundred thousand men were ready to start up at the command of their leaders. The negotiation opened with

the French Directory was carried on with equal spirit and prudence. While every security for the repayment of the expenses incurred in the expedition was offered, measures were taken to preserve the independence of Ireland, and to save it from becoming a mere province of France. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, especially, made it an express condition that France should send but a small military force, and that her aid should be chiefly limited to a supply of arms.

The administration of the Earl of Camden has exposed that nobleman to much unmerited obloquy. He was, in fact, a mere cipher in the state. The faction of the ascendency, strong in their monopoly of every official situation, and having almost exclusive possession of the magistracy and the military, exulting also in their late triumph over Earl Fitzwilliam, laid aside all pretensions to moderation, and treated the country with arbitrary severity, which the Turks, in their wildest freaks of tyranny, could not have exceeded. The system of endeavouring to extort confession by torture—the turning out a licentious and unregulated soldiery at free quarters on a disturbed district—imprisonment for mere caprice, and transportation without trial—were magisterial acts, not merely permitted, but applauded. Lord Carhampton was among the most conspicuous of these active magistrates. He formed an inquisitorial tribunal in several of the western counties; and having, in the absence of the accused, examined the charges against the persons confined on suspicion, he sent on board a tender those who were likely, in the phraseology of the day, "to elude justice," that is, against whom there was not so much evidence as would satisfy even an Irish jury. The grand-juries and Orange corporations warmly thanked the Earl of Carhampton for what they were pleased to term "his wholesome severity;" and the Irish parliament shielded him from the legal consequences of this

open violation of the constitution, by passing an act of indemnity. This was followed by an insurrection act of more than ordinary severity. It was opposed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had not yet lost all hope of saving his country from a furious convulsion. He said, that "nothing would tranquillize the country but the sincere endeavour of the government to redress the grievances of the people. If that was done, the people would return to their allegiance; if not, he feared that neither resolutions nor bills would be of any avail." His warnings were spoken in vain; the insurrection and indemnity bills were carried without a division.

A. D. 1796.—Hopeless of parliamentary relief, the United Irishmen overcame their repugnance to foreign aid, resolving to solicit assistance from France; and Tone was invited to go from America for the purpose. In the course of the summer, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor were sent over to negotiate the terms of a treaty between the Irish and French republics; but, on account of Lord Edward's connexion with the Orleans family, it was deemed imprudent to receive him in France, and the management of the treaty was confided to Mr. O'Connor. The expedition prepared by the French government, on this occasion, was of the most formidable description. It consisted of 15,000 picked soldiers, under the command of Hoche, one of the best and bravest of the revolutionary generals. The marine force was not composed of equally valuable materials. Delays of various kinds were interposed, which prevented the fleet from sailing as early as had been intended; and information is said to have been sent to the Irish leaders, that the expedition would not set out before the ensuing spring. The armament at length sailed on the 15th of December. No British fleet appeared to oppose the progress of the enemy. There were no forces in the south of Ireland that could offer a moment's

resistance. But the winds and the waves protected Britain; the fleet was dispersed over the ocean; and the small part that arrived in Bantry Bay was delayed by the indecision of Grouchy, until a tremendous gale, right off-shore, arose, and rendered a landing impracticable. A remnant of the shattered fleet returned home; and Ireland was rescued from inevitable conquest by chance and the elements.

The defeat of this armament afforded a very favourable opportunity for securing the tranquillity of Ireland, by effecting a reconciliation between the government and the people. The minister must have seen how ill-grounded was his confidence in the boasted protection of a British fleet, when the coast of Ireland had been left for a fortnight at the mercy of a hostile navy, and only owed its safety to occurrences that baffle human calculation. On the other hand, the Union began justly to suspect the ambition of the French, when, instead of an auxiliary force, to assist in establishing freedom, they found an armament sent sufficient for the conquest of the country.* Impressed with these feelings, the leaders of the United Irishmen induced Mr. Ponsonby to bring forward that plan of tranquillization, whose rejection was, as we have seen, followed by the secession of the opposition. The government had now virtually declared war against its subjects. By raising the war-cry of Protestant ascendency, it had engaged on its side the prejudiced part of the Protestant population; and, by promising adherence to the ancient system of misrule, it gained the support of those whom that system had raised from insignificance to wealth and power. In the train of the insurrection act followed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the proclamation of martial law, and

* See Tone's Memoirs, where it appears that this force was what was agreed upon as sufficient for the deliverance but not for the subjugation of the country.—AM. PUBLISHERS.

the infliction of horrible torture by military tribunals, on all "who were suspected of being suspicious."

The excessive caution of the leaders of the Leinster United Irishmen saved the government from inevitable ruin in the beginning of 1797. The men of Ulster, now amounting to one hundred thousand men, were eager to commence operations. A numerous body of soldiers in the garrison of Dublin offered to put the conspirators in possession of the metropolis; and the counties of Leinster were ready to pour in reinforcements from all sides. The neglect of such an opportunity is perfectly inexplicable. The possession of the capital would enable the leaders of the conspiracy to make themselves masters of the entire kingdom in a week, or, at the worst, have placed them in a position for maintaining a powerful struggle until assistance could reach them from France. Despair of effecting their objects without foreign aid is said to have caused this fatal error, which completely destroyed the unity and the strength of the party. The northerns, disgusted by the timidity of their associates in Leinster, and wearied by the delays of France, began to return to their allegiance; and the increasing coolness, in some cases nearly amounting to hostility, between the Presbyterian and Catholic members of the Union, finally ruined the cause of the republicans in Ulster.

Ireland was, during the course of this year (1797), a second time saved to the British empire by the winds and the waves. A powerful armament had been prepared in the Texel; but it was delayed by the weakness of the French minister of marine, and afterward by adverse winds, during the favourable period that England remained deprived of her fleet by the mutiny at the Nore. The arrival of Admiral Duncan, with a superior force, and the inexplicable folly of the Dutch in hazarding an engagement, freed England from danger. The victory at Cam-

perdown, one of the most brilliant in the naval annals of Great Britain, effectually prevented the French Directory from executing the promises which they had made to the agents of the United Irishmen.

It became now the deliberate policy of the Irish government—a policy unblushingly acknowledged and defended by the Irish ministers—to goad the people by torture into a premature insurrection, before the organization of the conspiracy would have been so complete as to be irresistible. Martial law was proclaimed in several counties; a savage soldiery, and a still more savage yeomanry, were encouraged to emulate each other in acts of cruelty; the tortures of whipping, picketing, half-hanging, and the pitch-cap were put in active operation; the huts of the peasantry were burned, their sons tortured or slain, their daughters subjected to all the outrages of brutal passion. Disgusted at witnessing such barbarity, the lamented Abercromby, then in command of the army, published a proclamation, in which he described the Irish soldiery to be so demoralized by licentiousness, as "to be formidable to everybody but the enemy." Finding that no attention was paid to his remonstrances, and that government had resolved to let loose this demoralized army on the people, he resigned the command, and was succeeded by General Lake, who was not troubled by such impolitic scruples. The atrocities committed by the army and yeomanry in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wexford are almost beyond belief; they had the effect of provoking a fearful retaliation. When the peasantry at length had recourse to arms, they showed that they had not been inapt scholars in the lessons of cruelty taught them by the government.

An almost open conspiracy had now existed for nearly two years; and, notwithstanding all the exertions of the administration, no discovery of the leaders or their plans had yet been made, though

immense rewards were offered for information. Chance, however, again favoured the minister. One Reynolds, who had been an active member of the Union, being distressed for want of money, sold the secret to the government, and ensured for himself pardon and reward. In consequence of his information most of the leaders were arrested at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March; Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who happened to be absent, eluded pursuit until the 19th of May, when, after a desperate resistance in which he was mortally wounded, he was made a prisoner. The Shearses and others, who had been chosen to fill the places of those arrested at Bond's, were betrayed to government by a militia captain named Armstrong, to whom they had rashly intrusted all their secrets; and thus the insurrection seemed crushed in the bud by the loss of all its leaders. But the excitement of a people deliberately tortured into rebellion could not be even thus suppressed. From the papers seized in the houses of the conspirators, it became known to government that the night of the 23d of May was fixed upon for the commencement of the revolt; and the alarming intelligence was officially communicated to the lord-mayor of Dublin and both houses of parliament. A spirited address was voted in reply by the Commons, which was presented to the lord-lieutenant by all the members, who went in solemn procession to the Castle, with the speaker at their head.

No language can convey even a remote idea of the situation of Dublin at this lamentable crisis. Every man looked with suspicion on his neighbour, dreading death from the disaffected, and tortures worse than death from the faction that had usurped the authority of government. Curran's speech, in the case of "Heevey versus Sirr," has made known to the world a few of the outrages perpetrated by those who called themselves exclusively "loyal;" but the horrors of whipping, half-hanging, and pitch-caps, in

Beresford's riding-house, have not obtained equal publicity. The infernal system of endeavouring to obtain information by torture, practised at this time in every part of Ireland, was nowhere more zealously acted upon than in the capital. Private revenge frequently urged secret informations against the innocent, and accusation was in every instance followed by punishment without the shadow of previous inquiry. As the French had introduced the fashion of wearing short hair, the adoption of this mode was deemed presumptive evidence of republicanism; and "*croppy*" became the name for all who were, or were supposed to be, disaffected to the government. Many persons who had innocently adopted the fashion were subjected to the pain and degradation of a military flogging; worse tortures were reserved for those who at the elections had been conspicuous in supporting the opponents of government, or had made themselves notorious by their advocacy of liberal principles. Nor were these horrid exhibitions confined to Dublin. Similar atrocities were displayed in almost every town of Ireland; for the whole country was now under "martial law," that is, under the control of an infuriate yeomanry and demoralized soldiery.

On the 23d of May the insurrection broke out in the counties of Kildare and Carlow. The peasants had no arms but clumsy pikes, and a few guns in bad order; they were of course easily defeated. At Naas and Kilcullen the royalists were victorious with little loss, but the insurgents suffered very severely. All the prisoners taken by the soldiers were hanged without ceremony, and there is reason to believe that many shared their fate who had not at all participated in their enterprise. The only part of Kildare in which the insurgents obtained success was Prosperous, where a detachment of the North Cork militia, headed by Captain Swayne, was surprised and cut to pieces. The captain is said to

have been more than ordinarily severe in the infliction of military executions, and to have fallen by the hand of a man whose house he had burned. When the news of these events reached Dublin, the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation, giving notice that his "majesty's general officers had orders to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting or in any manner assisting in the rebellion." It is a lamentable proof of the hardness of heart and virulent spirit of revenge produced by civil dissensions, to find, when this proclamation was communicated by message to the House of Commons, that Colonel Barry (the present Lord Farnham) actually proposed to give martial law a retrospective effect, and subject to its operations the state-prisoners in Dublin. Even Lord Castlereagh reprobated such a proposal, and, in pathetic terms, besought his violent supporters not to reduce the nation to despair.

Such moderation was not imitated by others. An ill-concerted and disorderly attack having been made in Carlow, the insurgents were routed with great slaughter, while not a man on the side of the royalists was even wounded. The slaughter of four hundred assailants was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the loyal desire of vengeance; more than two hundred captives were executed by martial law. There was one victim among these unhappy men too conspicuous to be passed over even in this scanty page. Sir Edward Crosbie, a gentleman highly esteemed by all his acquaintances for his intellectual accomplishments and moral worth, had unfortunately given offence to the ruling party, by expressing sympathy for the oppressions of the peasantry, and an anxiety for reform in parliament. Being surrounded by the insurgents, and made a prisoner previous to the attack on Carlow, he was unable to give the garrison notice of the approach of their assailants. For this misprision he was brought to trial. Catholic prisoners

were flogged to obtain evidence against him, and were promised their lives on the simple condition of bearing witness against him. Protestant loyalists were prevented by military force from appearing in his favour; and even after all these exertions, so conscious were the members of the court-martial that the evidence would not warrant his condemnation, that they destroyed the minutes of their proceedings.

The insurgents of Kildare, having suffered several defeats, soon began to despair, and willingly accepted the offers of pardon made to them by General Dundas, with the concurrence of the lord-lieutenant. Several bodies of the peasantry surrendered their arms, received protections, and returned quietly to their homes. A large body that had assembled for the purpose was, however, unexpectedly attacked by a body of military under the command of Sir James Duffe. Wholly unprepared for such an event, the unresisting multitude fled in consternation, and were pursued with merciless slaughter. The chief agents in this massacre were a company of fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. Their career of carnage was, however, checked by peremptory orders from General Dundas, who sent an express to forbid any attack on the people, as soon as he learned the direction of Sir James Duffe's march.

The cruelties committed by the North Cork militia, by the yeomanry, and a portion of the magistracy in the county of Wexford, provoked an insurrection there more fierce and calamitous than in any other part of Ireland. The tortures inflicted by the military tribunals were surpassed by those which individuals were permitted to use at their own discretion. A sergeant, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, from his ingenuity in devising torments, used to put on the pitched cap with melting pitch, which, trickling into the eyes of the victims, added blindness to their

other pains. Another invention was, to cut the hair in the form of a cross close to the roots, and laying a train of gunpowder in the furrow set it on fire, and repeat the process until human endurance could bear no more. A tall officer in the same regiment acquired the name of *The Walking Gallows*, from consenting to become on several occasions a substitute for a gibbet, when it was deemed necessary in an inconvenient place to inflict the punishment of half-hanging, or even death. The deliberate murder of twenty-eight prisoners in the town of Carnew by the yeomanry in the presence of their officers; the burning of houses and Roman Catholic chapels, superadded to the tortures and whippings, drove the peasantry to arms. They were headed by two priests who sympathized in the sufferings of the people, and were, besides, irritated at the destruction of their own houses. The insurgents were divided into two disorderly bodies, which did not act in concert. One was easily defeated by the yeomen of Carnew; the other was more fortunate, and not only defeated, but cut to pieces a detachment of the North Cork at Oulárt Hill. The victorious insurgents next attacked Enniscorthy, which was defended with great obstinacy and gallantry; but the town having taken fire, the royalists were obliged to retreat to Wexford.

The attack of the insurgents on Wexford must have failed if the garrison had made any attempt at resistance; but cruelty is usually accompanied by cowardice; and the soldiers, whose excesses had driven the country to arms, fled from the town the moment that an assault was threatened. They left behind them many loyalists whose zeal had led them to commit exasperating outrages, and who were now exposed to the vengeance of a peasantry maddened by oppression and intoxicated with success. Dreadful were the scenes enacted in Wexford while the town remained at the mercy of the infuriate mob;

numbers of loyalists were cruelly piked on the bridge; and it was only by the most unceasing exertions of the leaders that a general massacre of the Protestants was averted.

Newtownbarry was the next object of attack, and, as at Wexford, the military under the command of Colonel L'Estrange retreated without attempting resistance. The remonstrances of Lieutenant-colonel Westenra induced the commander to change his inglorious determination; the soldiers returned to the town, and, unexpectedly assailing the unruly rabble by which it was occupied, routed them with great slaughter. The defeat of a large detachment under the command of General Walpole threw a momentary gleam over the cause of the insurgents; but this was more than compensated by their total defeat at Ross after a long and desperate engagement, during the greater part of which victory seemed to be in their hands.*

Cowards perpetrated the greatest enormities on both sides. The massacres in Wexford were the work of those who had not courage to share in the perils of the campaign; and on this occasion, a frightful crime was committed by some runaways from the battle of Ross. A number of loyalists, some of whom were Catholics, had been seized by the insurgents, as hostages for the safety of any of their friends that might be made prisoners, and were confined in the house and barn of Mr. King, at Scullabogue. Some of the fugitives from Ross determined on the massacre of all these unfortunate beings; pleading in their excuse the examples set them by the yeomanry at Carnew and Dunlavin. The prisoners in the house were shot; the barn where the rest were confined was set on fire; and all within burned to ashes.

* During the attack on Ross, one of the insurgents advanced to the very mouth of a cannon, and, thrusting his hat and wig into it, exclaimed, "Come on, boys, she's stopped!" at the same instant the gunner applied the match, and the wretch was blown to atoms.

The defeat at Ross was followed by an equally severe repulse at Arklow. The royalists owed this victory principally to the skill and valour of Colonel Skerrett, of the Durham Fencibles, but for whom the town would have been deserted as scandalously as Wexford, and Dublin itself consequently exposed to the most imminent danger. The Wexford insurgents, by this defeat, lost their last chance of success, and were forced to wait inactively until government had collected its strength for their destruction.

Ulster had been, as we have already stated, the parent of the Irish conspiracy; but the disagreement between the leaders of the United Irishmen, the flight of some chiefs, and the arrest of others, had so disconcerted the plans of the Union, that the greater part of the province continued tranquil. When the news of the insurrection in Wexford, however, reached the north, a considerable number assembled in the neighbourhood of Antrim, and by a furious attack nearly made themselves masters of the town. Not discouraged by their defeat, they prepared to form an encampment; but learning that their efforts would not be seconded by the other counties, and that the war in Wexford was assuming a religious character, the malecontents, who were mostly Protestants, threw away or surrendered their arms, and returned quietly to their own homes. Inspired by similar sentiments, a number of insurgents in the county of Down took up arms, and made several spirited attacks on the royal forces. They were attacked at Ballynahinch by General Nugent; and after a desperate engagement, in which the success obtained by valour was lost by want of discipline, were finally defeated and irretrievably broken. Thus terminated the insurrection in Ulster; and the government was now able to direct all its forces against the county of Wexford.

CHAPTER XXII.

Suppression of the Insurrection—Its Consequences.

After their defeats at Arklow and Ross, the insurgents of Wexford were reduced to maintain a defensive warfare, their last hope being to protract the contest until succours could arrive from France. Their principal encampment was on Vinegar Hill, a lofty and irregular eminence near the town of Enniscorthy. Here, after the example of the royalists, they established a revolutionary tribunal, that emulated the cruelties and iniquities of the courts-martial. Some of the victims were persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious by aiding in the wanton infliction of torture, but others owed their fate to secret treachery and malignant insinuation. After the country had remained for more than three weeks at the mercy of the undisciplined half-armed rabble that constituted the insurgent forces, a royal army of thirteen thousand men, with a formidable train of artillery, advanced against Vinegar Hill, in four divisions. The struggle was of course brief; the insurgents fled after a faint attempt at resistance, making their escape along the line of road destined to be occupied by General Needham's division, which from some unexplained circumstance, they found vacant. On the approach of the royal army to Vinegar Hill, the greater part of the insurgent garrison was withdrawn from Wexford. The inhabitants believed this a favourable opportunity of saving the town from the violence both of the insurgents and the soldiery; waited on Lord Kingsborough, who had been made a prisoner in the beginning of the contest, offering to surrender the town, and to procure the submission of the armed peasantry in the

neighbourhood, if security both of person and property was granted to all but murderers. Lord Kingsborough, having accepted of these conditions, was placed in command of the town. He immediately wrote an account of the circumstance, and a deputation of the townspeople went to procure a ratification of the agreement. To his lordship's letter Lake, determined to give his soldiers an opportunity of taking revenge for their former disgraceful abandonment of Wexford, returned no answer. To the deputation from the town, he gave the following reply :—

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning to their allegiance."

On the faith of Lord Kingsborough's convention, the town of Wexford had already been restored to tranquillity. The army of the insurgents had retired to their camp in the neighbourhood, and was preparing to disperse; the leaders who had acted with humanity returned to their homes; while the perpetrators of murder and massacre sought safety in flight. In the mean time the army of the sanguinary Lake was advancing upon Wexford, which seemed devoted to destruction more certain than that of Nineveh. Luckily Sir John Moore, whose humanity equalled his bravery, lay nearer to the town than Lake, and having heard of the convention, advanced to Wexford. The town was quickly garrisoned by a few yeomen; and Moore, eager to restrain the violence of his soldiers, encamped in the vicinity. Every pretext was thus removed for subjecting the town to the horrors of military execution; but the leaders, who deemed themselves safe by the conven-

tion, were seized after being subjected to indignities shocking to humanity. The country, however, was abandoned to the tender mercies of Lake's soldiery, and suffered every calamity that lust, rapine, and a ruffian thirst for blood could inflict. It is impossible to give even an imperfect idea of such horrors; they are unparalleled in the annals of human crime. Courts-martial were then held for the trial of the insurgent leaders. They had trusted to the convention. They deemed that the lives they had saved from the fury of the mob would plead in their behalf. Many of them could prove that their participation in the revolt was produced by compulsion; but such excuses could be of little avail when innocence itself afforded no protection. With pain we must add that Lord Kingsborough acted as a member of the courts-martial by whom these men were tried; and that the Irish parliament sanctioned the iniquity, by passing acts of attainder and forfeiture against them after their death.

The insurgents, driven to despair by the news of the breach of the convention, hopeless of success, and yet afraid to lay down their arms, proceeded to maintain a desultory war, hurrying from county to county through the centre of Ireland, and baffling the royal army by the celerity of their movements. In this strange warfare, more injury was inflicted on the country in a few days, than it had suffered during the weeks when the insurgents were triumphant. Between these despairing wretches and the brutal soldiery, Ireland must soon have been a desert, but for the lenient policy adopted by the Marquis of Cornwallis, the new viceroy. He published a proclamation, authorizing the royal generals to grant protections to all who would return to their allegiance, except those guilty of murder; and thus the most desperate leaders obtained pardon, which had been refused to those comparatively innocent. Generals Hunter, Grose, Gascoyne, and Needham, who were

stationed in the county of Wexford, exerted themselves to the utmost to give full effect to the benevolent intentions of the viceroy; and though they could not wholly restrain the excesses of the savage bands of yeomanry and militia, they acquired the confidence of the peasantry, and earned the blessings of a grateful population. Such an effect had this judicious mercy in reconciling the peasantry to the government, that when the news of a French invasion arrived, they offered their services to General Hunter, in an address of equal simplicity and energy, which is preserved in Hay's History of the Wexford Insurrection.

Though the insurrection was confined to Wexford, the "reign of terror" established under Lord Camden's administration, extended over the entire south and east. Two instances may serve to illustrate the temper and wisdom of those to whom it had pleased the rulers of Ireland to intrust the destinies of the country. Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, high-sheriff of Tipperary, flogged severely a gentleman named Wright, for having in his possession a complimentary note, written in the French language, of which the worthy functionary was unfortunately ignorant. In the town of Youghal, one Desmond, after being severely flogged, was hanged in front of the jail, on evidence which, being obtained by torture, was not above suspicion. His brother, then confined in the prison, was forced to witness the execution; and soldiers were placed behind him with drawn bayonets, to prevent him from turning his eyes away from the horrid spectacle.

A kind of treaty was made between the Irish government and the state prisoners confined in Dublin. Their lives were spared, on condition of their giving the government every information connected with the conspiracy. A garbled account of their examinations was published; but still enough was preserved to show, that, if the insurrection was not provoked

by the government, it was deliberately waited for and defied. The total loss of property in this calamitous struggle was probably not less than three millions sterling. Of the royal party, about twenty thousand fell; but not less than fifty thousand of the insurgents were destroyed. The utter demoralization of a great proportion of the triumphant party was the worst consequence of this lamentable struggle. Men learned to take an infernal delight in the tortures and sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Revenge, bigotry, and all the dark passions that combine with both, were permitted to have full sway. Perjury, and subornation of perjury, were united to evidence obtained by torture. Robbery, murder, and licentious crime, committed with impunity, destroyed every virtuous tie, and every moral obligation. The state of society thus created could not all at once be changed; and, even now that a new generation has succeeded, the consequences are not quite effaced.

The French Directory, during the continuance of the struggle in Wexford, made no effort to assist their Irish allies; but, late in August, when all disturbances had been suppressed, a small force of eleven hundred men, commanded by General Humbert, landed at Killala, and soon gained possession of the town. General Hutchinson, on the first news of the invasion, hastened from Galway to Castlebar, and soon assembled a vastly superior force. Unfortunately, he was superseded in the command by the arrival of Lake, a circumstance to which, combined with the undisciplined state of the soldiery, must be attributed the disgraceful events that followed. A British army, amounting at least to four thousand men, and supported by fourteen pieces of cannon, fled almost without firing a shot, from eight hundred Frenchmen and about a thousand unarmed peasantry, who had no other artillery than one curricle gun. Want of means prevented Humbert from improving

his advantages; but he contrived to baffle all the efforts of the English generals, from the twenty-second of August until the eighth of September, when, being nearly surrounded by an army of thirty thousand men, he was forced to surrender. The Irish by whom he had been joined, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with great severity. Killala was reduced in about a fortnight after; but the army, on entering it, committed several gross outrages, murdering not only the insurgents, but several unfortunate loyalists who hastened to greet them as deliverers. This wanton cruelty was the more unjustifiable, as, during the brief contest, not a drop of blood had been shed by the Connaught insurgents, except in the field of battle. The trials by courts-martial followed the success of the royalists as a matter of course. The fate of the victims drew tears even from their political opponents, for most of those selected for punishment had been conspicuous for their humanity and generosity.

A second attempt, equally absurd and unaccountable, was made by the French in the following month. A small squadron, sent from Brest, was discovered off the coast of Ulster by Admiral Warren, and forced to engage at a great disadvantage. The Hoche of eighty guns, and six frigates, were captured; and thus ended the projects of the French Directory for the liberation or conquest of Ireland.

On board the Hoche, when taken, was Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had rendered himself very conspicuous by the abilities and talents with which he supported the cause of the United Irishmen. It was at first believed that he had fallen in the action—a delusion which the British naval officers, with their usual generosity to a fallen foe, laboured to encourage. The task of discovering him, however, was undertaken by Sir George Hill, a leader of the Orange party, who had been his fellow-student.

The French officers, among whom Mr. Tone had hitherto passed undistinguished, were invited to breakfast by the Earl of Cavan. While they were seated at table, Hill entered, followed by some police-officers. Looking narrowly at the company, he singled out his victim, whom he addressed with a friendly salutation. Tone was immediately seized by the police-officers, heavily ironed, and sent to Dublin, where he was tried and condemned by a court-martial. As such a proceeding was manifestly contrary to law, Curran and Peter Burrowes, almost the only barristers that would venture to show sympathy for a victim under "the reign of terror," brought the case before the court of King's Bench; but, ere their interference could produce any decision, news arrived that Tone had committed suicide.

The British government, in another instance, exhibited the puerile weakness of its vengeance. They caused James Napper Tandy to be arrested at Hamburgh, in violation of the laws of neutrality; but, being alarmed at the retaliation menaced by the French government, they feared to take his life. He was tried at Lifford, condemned, and pardoned on condition of quitting the country.

The lessons that may be deduced from the foregoing pages—the darkest in Irish history—need not now be traced. The numberless and malignant calumnies heaped on all who favoured the projects of the United Irishmen, even at the time when their designs extended no farther than a reform in the representation, and a repeal of disqualifying laws, have sunk into general oblivion, and are now only repeated by a few bigots, whom no experience could improve, no instruction enlighten. The leaders of the original conspiracy sought to dissolve the connexion with England, only because the English government made itself known only as the supporter of that oligarchy by which their country was injured and insulted. The insurgents took up arms, not

against the supreme head of the state, but against the dominant faction, in their local legislature, to which the supremacy had been delegated. The purity of their motives and the rectitude of their intentions soon received a complete justification. The British minister, having permitted the Irish parliament to convict itself of incompetence and intolerable tyranny, compelled it to pass on itself the sentence of condemnation, and assent to its own annihilation. Scarcely had the insurrection ended, when the question of Union began to be agitated. It was at first so decidedly unpopular, that exhausted as the country had been by the late commotions, its independence might probably have been maintained by arms, had not the minister, by a wonderful mixture of corruption and cunning, effectually broken the strength of the opposition. The measure of Union was rejected in the session of 1799 by the House of Commons; but, by a lavish profusion of bribes, the same house was induced to adopt it in the next session, by a considerable majority. The Catholics were induced to give a species of tacit assent, though certainly with considerable reluctance, by the promise of obtaining their emancipation. Hopes, utterly inconsistent with such a promise, were presented to the violent Protestants; money was liberally bestowed on all who could forward the views of government; and at length, after unparalleled scenes of bribery and deception, the Irish legislature assented to its own destruction, and the Irish nation made no effort to avert its merited fate.

The history of the Irish parliament fully vindicates the justice and policy of the Union, and furnishes the best apology for the disgraceful means used by the British minister to accomplish its destruction. No excuse, however, can be pleaded for the monstrous folly and the at least seeming perfidy which, for more than thirty years, prevented the empire from experiencing the benefits of the measure. The

patriots deserve some share of the blame which must rest on those who intercepted blessings and entailed calamities. Had they, when they found opposition hopeless, endeavoured to make the conditions of the treaty more equitable, the minister would probably have listened to their suggestions. He would in all likelihood have consented that the limited representation of Ireland should be returned by popular election, and removed the anomaly of populous towns and cities, where the franchise is confined to a dozen individuals, nominated by some great proprietor. But in their hostility to the entire measure, the patriots resolved not to meddle with the details; and thus the old oligarchy contrived to retain a portion of the power that they had already so fearfully abused. By an exquisitely absurd arrangement, the measures for completing the Union were carried in detail, and at long intervals. Ireland continued to have a separate exchequer, a distinct administration, different weights, measures, and coins; the commercial intercourse between the two islands remained subject to fiscal restrictions; in short, the country was treated as a province, and not as an integrant part of the empire. These unwise anomalies have been removed; but the traces of the distinction they created have not yet disappeared. The introduction of steam vessels—the increased commercial intercourse between the islands—and the removal of irritating restrictions—have, within the last few years, greatly contributed to cement the alliance; and when English capitalists begin to avail themselves of the amazing facilities which the harbours on the south and west of Ireland afford for trade with the southern and western worlds, it may fairly be expected that a community, or rather an identity, of interest will arise, and the two nations become, in reality as well as name, a united people.

The breach of faith with the Catholics, by the refusal of emancipation, was the most disastrous

error committed by the British administration. The continuance of political agitation for nearly thirty years—the maintenance of hostility between those who naturally felt anxious to maintain their exclusive privileges, and those who struggled for equal rights—the conversion of every place of public resort into a debating club, where the most exasperating language was used by the orators on both sides—produced a state of society which must have been witnessed to be understood. Even the termination of this system was marked by the same folly or fatality that caused its continuance. The boon, after being long delayed, was finally conceded in a manner so ungracious that the obligation lost all its efficacy.

With the Union our brief view of Ireland's history terminates. Since that period, with the exception of Robert Emmett's attempt to raise a revolt, which was crushed almost in a moment, there has been nothing in Ireland that could properly be called a civil war. Agrarian insurrections against local grievances and oppressions still occur, which have been hitherto met only by the old remedy of coercive measures; but there is every ground for a confident hope, that the great engine of power for the redress of evils, accumulated through centuries of misrule, will, ere long, be brought forward by a liberal and enlightened administration—"that engine," to use the powerful words of Grattan, "which the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high-priest, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the Inquisition, with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of—the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, comes forth and overlays mankind by services—the engine of redress." The complete pacification of Ireland, and the application of its resources, to ensure the happiness and prosperity of its people, must be a work of time; but the prospect is bright with promise, and

almost consoles us for the afflictions, calamities, and oppressions of which we have now concluded the painful retrospect.

Much surprise has been expressed by those unacquainted with Ireland that the concession of emancipation in 1829 has not been followed by the immediate tranquillization of Ireland: those who have read the preceding pages can scarcely feel any wonder on the subject. The exclusive laws produced many evil consequences not specially mentioned in their enactments, and perhaps it would not be too much to say that greater calamities resulted from their indirect than their direct operation. They aggravated and perpetuated the abominable system of land-letting, which has been the greatest source of the evils that afflicted the wretched island,—a system that has led the landlord to exult in his tenant's misery, and the tenant, not unjustly, to regard his landlord as a tyrant. The Irish parliament during the period of its mischievous existence passed laws by the hundred to arm the lords of the soil with fresh power, but not one single enactment appears on their records for securing to the cultivator any share in the profits of his industry. An Irish landlord, so far from rejoicing in the prosperity of his tenant, would asseverate that each additional comfort was obtained from his own pocket, and at once demand an increase of rent. Hence the peasant continues a pauper, because poverty is his surest shield and protection; and hence he is ever ready to join the wildest scheme of rustic insurrection, because no change in his circumstances could be for the worse. Legislators have as yet disregarded those whom both Catholics and Protestants oppress,—the labouring population; and until a change in the entire system, not only of law but of custom, take place in the relations between Irish landlords and Irish tenants,

the country must remain a prey to misery and distraction.

The patriots of 1796, '97, and '98 had not the power of "wielding at will the fierce democracy," possessed by the agitators of the present day; but they had a better and more consistent view of the remedies that their country needed. It would be folly to deny that we do not accord the confidence to the political unions we would have given to the societies of United Irishmen. Personal motives, private pique, and petty objects of ambition are too often conspicuous in the debates of the present men of the people; with them we find no traces of any fixed and definite plan for ameliorating the condition of the peasantry, and rendering the resources of the country available for the support of its inhabitants. The great original objects of the United Irishmen have been achieved —reform, emancipation and a remodelling of the church establishment; but the struggle for these objects generated feelings that will take a long time ere they subside, and led to an insecurity and uncertainty in property that cannot easily be remedied. Still the signs of improvement are discernible; the Orange orgies are the theme of ridicule from Derry to Cape Clear; the old ferocious oligarchy is stripped of its power; the press has established an efficient control over the magistracy; and justice is no longer denied to the poor man. More, much more remains to be done; but we perceive in the English of the present day an anxiety to atone for the misdeeds of their forefathers: they have discovered how grossly they have been deceived by tory libellers both as to Ireland and America; and they leave these wretched panders to the worst of national passions to obtain their reward from those whom no experience can teach, and no instruction enlighten.

CONCLUSION.

BY WILLIAM SAMPSON, ESQ.

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The preceding volumes having been submitted to my judgment by the publishers of the Family Library, with a request that I should add whatever I might think conducive to the satisfaction of the American reader, and particularly as to the period since the Union of which the author has not treated, I could not be indifferent to a subject so interesting, nor insensible to the confidence reposed in me by the worthy publishers.

In judging of a writer upon Irish history, regard should be had to the inherent difficulties of the subject; and we find every author who pretends to impartiality preluding with some observations to that effect: and why? because centuries of remorseless aggression and fierce retaliation had swelled the tide of conflicting passions and antipathies, and the still chafed and fretted water of bitterness and strife had never, during that long period, been suffered to subside. And as Doctor Leland observes, it is scarcely possible for a writer not to share in the passions and prejudices of those around him; for however candid, dispassionate, and accurate, still he must have done dangerous violence to their feelings and prepossessions; and that, even in this day, the historian must be armed against censure by an integrity which confines him to truth, and a literary

courage which despises every charge but that of wilful or careless misrepresentation.

Doctor Leland's example justifies the soundness of his observation. He was a senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and a clergyman of the established church, by his learning and talents entitled to distinction; but he could never hope for preferment if he incurred the displeasure of those patrons to whom the honest truth could hardly be acceptable; and from his education and the principles he was bound to teach, his affections and his judgment were very liable to bias. And accordingly we find him often stating facts with sufficient integrity, and yet, as it were, unconsciously concluding against the ordinary sense of right and wrong. Nevertheless, considering what Irish history was when he undertook to write it, the low degradation to which the fortune of war and internal dissensions had reduced the majority of his countrymen, and the jealous monopoly of power inhumanly exercised, there is some praise as well as censure due to him; and with such allowances, his history, the first regular and connected one that had appeared, may yet be read with some advantage. And it argues something in his favour that he never did attain to any such high preferment as Archbishop King and others did, for works far more undeserving.

The next who undertook the arduous task was Mr. Francis Plowden, an English Catholic lawyer, known, among other works, for that upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen (*Jura Anglorum*),—a man of great learning and abilities. He had proposed to Mr. Pitt so early as the year 1792, to write a history of Ireland, with a view to favour and forward a legislative union, and was desired to submit his project to Mr. Secretary Dundas, with whom it remained unanswered. After the union had passed, he renewed his offer to Mr. Addington, and was by him engaged, for a pecuniary compensation, to write a history that

might reconcile the Irish to that measure, and palliate the atrocities by which it was enforced. He did his best, but his feelings revolted. His work when finished displeased his patrons. He was rebuked and insulted for having made too free with living characters, called "saviours of their country," and with certain *arcana* of the state which were not to be revealed; and thrown back with loss upon his own resources, he wrote his *post-union* history in a spirit of greater freedom. These writings together make eight octavo volumes, valuable for the facts and documents contained in them, and showing great ability in the author, but too hastily composed, and of course deficient in that order and arrangement which makes a history useful for reading or for reference. There are too many long and literal transcripts of debates, reports of committees, and resolutions of public bodies in and out of parliament, etc. brought forward desultorily, like the stragglers of a routed army falling in with the main body when and where they might. These often exceed in volume and importance the slenderer thread of the text over which they ride. This unclassic manner of writing ought not to be indulged; for though it may ease the author, it throws a heavy burden on the reader. "Notes, with a poem," was the witty sarcasm of a good master of style; but notes with a history is worse.

It was not always that truth could be told without manifest hazard as regarded the subjugated party; and even the ascendant party were forbidden to publish any thing against the foreign interests, or in favour of those of their own country. Thus Mr. Molyneux's Case of Ireland was denounced to King William by the English House of Commons, and ordered to be burned by the common hangman. Nor did it avail that he was a devoted partisan of the revolution and the king; a Protestant representative of the Protestant city, and Protestant university of

Dublin successively, high in the ranks of science, and the friend of Locke, whom he had consulted on that very work. So was Dean Swift proscribed, though a dignitary of the established church, one who hated dissenters, and despised, though he may have compassionated, his Catholic countrymen: and that, because he maintained the general interests of his native country.

The first Catholic author who ventured to complain openly of the aggravated oppression of the penal code was Doctor John Curry.* He wrote from an honest and humane impulse, and nowhere is there to be found in any controversial work so much of mild wisdom and persuasive truth.

Of more modern works on Irish history a large catalogue might be drawn out, each having its own merit, but none of them are histories, nor profess to be so. Among these might be fairly commended the *Vindiciæ* of that benevolent and warm hearted citizen Matthew Carey, who has boldly grappled with the foes of truth and charity upon their own favourite ground, *the Irish massacre* of 1641, and overthrown the spectres and the monsters of the tale, and reduced its magnified and distorted features to the true standard of truth and nature.

Of the many concurring causes of hatred and disorder, none has contributed more largely than these false histories. Gross misrepresentations on the one hand have produced exaggerations on the other. The Irish have been exhibited as an accursed race, addicted to murder and riot, lewdness, treachery, superstition, and idolatry, and from defects of blood and nature for ever irreclaimable; as if Irish nature were not human nature. To refute these aspersions resort is had to ancient traditions, showing the lofty origin and early glories of their race. But the monuments of their high antiquity, and such

* Hist. and Crit. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland.

are not wanting, have been exposed to derision by over-zealous advocates, too passionately adopting as literal truths the allegorical fictions of poetic annals, and the rhapsodies of enthusiastic bards whose vocation it was to extol the prowess of the chiefs who entertained them, just as those of our day, but in strains of less vivacity, celebrate annually the virtues of the prince who feeds them: and one may judge what a history would want of exact truth that should be compiled from even the sober stanzas of our laureate poets.

From these mutual exaggerations, and from the long calamities of the devoted country, some have imputed what was beyond ordinary experience to preternatural or superhuman agency. But rational beings ought not to impute to the Godhead a dispensation to render his creatures miserable, nor ascribe to miracle what the due use of human reason can sufficiently explain. Undoubtedly there are great and curious anomalies in the history of that ill-starred island, and much of those contradictions and violations of all principle which Swift has expressed by the phrase of "*maxims controlled.*" But they, like all human occurrences, have relation to natural causes and a natural dependence on each other; and as the thief in setting on the true man first calls him thief, and the wolf did not devour the lamb till he had charged him with his or his father's sins, so natural it was for those who sought a pretext to usurp the soil and sovereignty of an unoffending people to charge them with vices that might justify their acts of piracy. The first impure source from which so many others have drawn their waters was Gerald Barry, the favourite, flatterer, chaplain, and courtier of the monarch who came armed with the papal authority to reduce Ireland to that obedience to the holy see since called popery; who came "as a *Catholic* prince to enlarge the borders of the Roman church," and to make good the claim of the

holy see to jurisdiction over "every island in the sea which had received the doctrines of the Christian faith," saving to the holy see the pension of one penny for every house.*

The church of Ireland at that day was thought too nonconforming, or, as it may be said, too Protestant. Its clergy were culdees (*cultores Dei*), and the church was governed, not by bishops, but by presbyters. They followed, says the venerable Bede, uncertain rules in the observation of the great festival, "only preaching such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings;" and Dr. Ledwich† says, "they did not adopt the corruption of the Anglo-Saxon church, or the superstitions which had contaminated Christianity for centuries. They preserved their country from the baleful contagion, and at length fell a sacrifice to the defence of their faith." It is not the intention of the writer of this chapter, however *culdeeish* in his principles, to meddle with religious controversy; but merely to point out a cause of mighty and lasting evil, the abuse of religion to political purposes and worldly ends; and to show how four centuries of unavailing strife left the descendants of this monarch as little advanced in the conquest as *he* was, and how three more have been marked by religious strife and bloodshed, and disgraced by a code that shames human nature, in order to force the nation to renounce that obedience that was the first link in the chain of title of English princes to the crown of Ireland. "We drove them," said a church dignitary‡ not long ago, with great naïveté, "into popery, and now we must drive them out of it!" It adds something, too, to the strangeness of this story, that the king who first took upon him this holy mission was himself, in the interval between his commission granted and its being acted

* The tax called "Peter's pence."
† Antiquities. ‡ Dean of Armagh.

on, whipped by eight monks for the murder of a saint, at the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury.

With respect to that great cause of evil, national slander, it is fair to state the character of its first originator, for this is another key to Irish history. It is taken from the *Biographia Britannica*,* where, after speaking freely of his conceits and quibbles, and of his vanity, it is further said, "He, Gerald Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, was without doubt in a very great degree credulous, and so much addicted to fables that his statement of facts is in many cases unworthy of confidence. With the events recited in his history of the conquest of Ireland he has intermixed all the prophecies he could collect of Caledonius, Merlin, and various other impostors; and hence he was led to give his history the title of *vaticinal*." He accompanied his brother, who had a military command in Ireland, that while the one warred against justice with the sword, the other might do so with his envenomed pen. He was also the instructer and companion of Prince John, whose riotous and brutal insolence to the native chiefs was repaid with blood, and whose reign in England is signalized by its atrocity.

Whatever may have been the uncivilization of the Irish at that darkened period of their history, their adversaries, in all except united power and warlike discipline, would gain nothing by the comparison. If the one was given to dissensions and kindred strifes,—if Roderick's sons rebelled against their father,—if Cormal dethroned his father, the MacCarty of Desmond,—what was the history of the first Anglo-Norman princes through a long succession but filial, conjugal, parental, fratricidal wars, conspiracies, and usurpations. The first conqueror was nearly slain in single combat by his son. He imprisoned his brother during his own life, and would not release

* Voc. Barry.

him even at his death. This was the great ancestor who styled himself,* "I, William the bastard, by the grace of God," &c., who is so much praised for his strength and stature, being, as has been said by his flatterers, eight feet high, and so strong that none of his courtiers could bend his bow. Of his taste for poetry and proficiency in the English language, however, the following specimen, from Winstanley's Life of William the Conqueror, may be at least amusing:

"I, William, king, the third year of my reign,
Give to the Norman hunter, to me that are both lief and dear,
The Hop and the Hopton and all the bounds up and down,
Under the earth to hell, above the earth to heaven,
From me and mine to thee and thine,
As good and as fair as ever they mine were.
To witness that this is sooth, I bite the white wax with my tooth,
Before Jug, Maud, and Margery, and my youngest son Henry,
For a bow and a broad arrow when I come to hunt on Parrow."

This, the author says, was taken from an old record in the Richmond Library.

Of his successor, William Rufus, it is said that "he was proud, covetous, cruel, and passionate, a profane swearer and scoffer at religion, addicted to wine and women, vain in his dress, delighting in the society of the loose and profligate of both sexes."

Henry I., though able and instructed, is described as lewd, avaricious, and ambitious to excess, had six illegitimate sons and seven daughters.

The next was the usurper Stephen; and then the second Henry, the paramour of Fair Rosamond, who was commissioned to bring the Irish into subjection to the pope; and his son was John, whose vices were nothing behind his predecessors. Did it lie then in the mouth of that clerical slanderer (*Giraldus Cambrensis*) to make it a ground of justification, that the Irish were regardless of the marriage-vow and insensible to the obligations of filial piety? It is not unnecessary even at this day to call these

* Ego, Gulielmus batardus, Dei gratia.

things to mind and hold the balance even, seeing what mighty evils unjust slanders have, and may still produce if persisted in and made a principle of action.

This charge of native depravity, which, like original sin, was to descend upon all generations, would lead further than ignorance seems aware of. It would involve nations which have been the most distinguished of the earth, of the same Celtic origin. It would implicate all those whose prefixes of Mac and O denote their Gaelic descent, whether Irish or Scotch, for they are but one family; and it is truly said,

"Tolle Mac et O et nullus erit Hibernicus."

To the *Macs* and the *O's* then we leave, if their pens are not better employed in good learning, to refute the absurd calumny.

The population of Ireland is much mixed, like that of other European countries. Those who boast of the Milesian royal race, which gave their language to the country, can be but a minority, though they may have been great conquerors, perhaps, too, cruel ones, for conquerors are mostly merciless. And it is well worth remarking, that those whom Cromwell's saints stripped of the possessions which they had won with their swords, were not of that wild Irish breed, for they had been already robbed. It was Englishmen of their own race and blood that were then the "*Canaanites*" that they, for God's honour, were to "kill and spare not," and to root out as idolatrous, to make way for the chosen of the Lord. And it is curious too that those false Israelites should, after praying God "that they might not become proud by eating of orchards that they had not planted, and living in houses that they had not built," so entirely renounce their holy antipathy to church and king, that they now constitute that class which sits in the high places of both church and state, and are the

high-priests of the altar which their forefathers dragged into the dust.

As to what may be called the romance of Irish antiquity, Mr. Lawless, in his elegant compendium of Irish history, after feelingly observing that "the Irish is the only history where the heart of the reader can find no resting-place from the miseries and sorrows of his fellow-creatures, exhausting sensibility by the reiteration of sorrow," thinks that "he cannot be the friend of the Irish who would wantonly shake their belief in the ancient magnificence and honour of their country; for the Irishman," he observes, "has often found refuge from the misfortunes that were pressing upon him in the cherished and sacred reflection, that however afflicted his country, or borne down her liberties, or hopeless her cause, he could look back to her history with complacency, where he sees her described as the instructress of Europe, the dispenser of justice, and the island of saints." With O'Flaherty, he speaks in raptures of the one hundred and seventy-one monarchs who governed Ireland for two thousand years previous to the invasion of Henry II., all of the same line and lineage. With him he passionately recurs to his monuments of ancient renown, and contends with an honest zeal for the veracity of poetry and the accuracy of fancy. Mr. Plowden too observes, that "the pride of ancestry has a peculiar effect upon the Irish, and that no nation can boast of such irrefragable proofs of their origin and lineage, and duration of government, and that it has been a pitiful prejudice in too many English writers to endeavour to throw discredit upon the early part of Irish history."

But that onward, powerful, courageous, and patriotic female writer, Lady Morgan, takes a different view. She says that "these national subjects have too long led the Irish from the better career of national improvement, and retrograded intellect by

directing it back to barbarous times, falsely called heroic; purely Irish.....knowing nothing of modern Ireland but her sufferings and her wrongs; of ancient Ireland but her fables and her dreams; deep read in O'Flaherty, Keating, and O'Connor, and the genealogies and senachies ancient and modern," &c. But as that stout agitator Mr. Lawless has not wasted his energies on visions of by-gone glories, with his own practical comment upon his own text, it may be admitted and approved. It is enough that within the time of authentic history, when darkness prevailed over Europe, learning and piety were cherished in that hospitable island, and that light did radiate thence as from a diverging point over the rest of Christendom. And if Irish writers have been somewhat vainglorious, it was a venial fault compared to that of calumnies invented for the ends of spoliation, and perpetuated by bigotry and malice. Much has been lost to science by the wilful destruction of Irish manuscripts, and the discouragement thrown upon the study of a language which might have been eminently useful at this day in that interesting branch of learning called linguistic history; a language which is now written and spoken without mixture or adulteration as it was written and spoken three thousand years ago; and which, though long banished from the seats of academic learning, from the forum, the senate, and from scenic use, remains regular in its construction, copious and expressive, apt for the purposes of poetry and lofty elocution, and for the utterance of such elegant turns of thought and tender and delicate sentiment as never could have originated with any but a civilized and highly polished people. This language too has been found to possess the technical terms of all the sciences known to the civilized nations of antiquity, and has been traced by its affinities to that in which the word of God was delivered by Moses and the prophets. The antiquities of Ireland are indeed of high

interest to the speculative inquirer, but have no useful application to her present condition. But to return from this digression.

To be invaded without provocation, treated as enemies though willing to be friends, held aliens in their native country, refused even naturalization in the land of their forefathers, punished by the laws of war and peace at one and the same time, death by the sword and forfeiture by the law, marked for destruction by deliberate plans of universal extermination from the soil that was their heritage under the hypocritical pretext of piety and civilization,—all this was hard, and hard enough: but to be still put in the wrong, as though they, and not their accusers, had been the invaders and destroyers, was what human nature could not and manhood never should endure. And with all the cruel and too successful endeavours of their enemies to bring them to that state of degradation that might make them answerable to the descriptions first invented for them, when it is considered in what school of cruelty and corruption, and by what examples of iniquity, their manners have been formed, their very turbulence will be found allied to the highest virtues; and it is less wonderful that they have vices, than that they have still preserved so many of their indigenous virtues. "I love the Irish," said Charles Fox: "what they have of good is of themselves, what they have of bad is from you." Even their turbulence speaks better for their nature than if they had sunk under oppression to that sordid state of brutal apathy to which so great a portion of the human race have been reduced by tyranny and superstition. What have their rebellions been but counter projects to tyranny, or their opposition to laws but conflicts with their enemy? Are they ignorant? see the cruel statutes that have made them so. But mark the few on whom the quickening rays of intellectual light have beamed: where have the great gifts that distinguish

man in the creation, reason and speech, been more exalted, or to whom does the English language owe more of its strength and polish, and all its power to convince the understanding or sway the hearts of men? And yet but for casual and favouring circumstances, Burke, Sheridan, Grattan, Goldsmith, and Erin's Bard might have lain like the clods of the valley unknown and trodden under foot; and, most stinging of all provocations, scoffed at besides for that poverty which robbed them of all culture, making them, not what nature had designed, but tyranny had doomed."*

There is little of that philosophy which history should teach in those who despatch the character of a nation in unconsidered words. Human nature is everywhere the same. It is circumstances that make the difference, and these are infinite in their combinations. Untutored and unimproved, man appears at home or abroad rude and offensive; and the most polished nations have passed through the rudest state, and having reached the highest civilization, have again retrograded. Some circumstances are favourable to improvement, and some present insurmountable impediments. Slavery has its vices, ignorance its vices, and poverty its vices. War has its crimes; and even peace and prosperity are not unaccompanied with evils. Whatever habitually excites the angry passions will make men fierce and reckless; whatever destroys confidence will make them suspicious; ill treatment will make them revengeful, and faith-breaking will make them crafty and deceitful: but bad example will teach every vice; and as there is in general an aptitude in man for every vice and every virtue, that will prevail which is most called forth. The English borderers, as the Minstrel of the North has shown, became clansmen, and the ancient English settlers in Ire-

* *Nil habet paupertas durius hoc quod homines ridiculos facit.*

land became degenerate, as it was called, and more Irish than the Irish; *Ipsis Hibernicis Hiberniores:* and so the manners of a people might be determined *à priori* by knowledge of the circumstances under which they lived; and in this is the great use of history, that by showing the causes it points to the remedies, and the past, like a monument before our eyes, instructs us what for our own and for our country's sake we should adopt or imitate, and what to shun as foul in its inception and disastrous in its consequences.

But history to be useful must be true, and this can hardly be when rolls and records speak not truth but falsehood, and where contemporary history is written after bloody conflicts, when one party is reduced to silence, and the other, possessed of every organ of publicity, makes it to suit his own views; when the writer is he whom the spoil has enriched, and the hand that guides the pen is red with the blood of the calumniated victim. Then *væ victis*, then venal tongues and mercenary pens will herald forth the triumphs of successful crime, and the name of the patriot who felt, and dared, and bled for his country will be consigned to obloquy or to oblivion; none will then dare to breathe his name, or throw one flower on his silent grave, till time, the great detecter, brings truth again to light, restores to virtue her true lustre, and to humanity the most precious of her interests, the heart-stirring and inspiring example of generous martyrs, whom in the gloomiest season of their country's fortunes bribe could not tempt, nor torture move, nor death's worst terrors daunt.

This brings me to the first point on which I am required to speak,—the merit of the foregoing work. In my opinion, it is both an able and an honest one. In that respectable miscellany* where it first appeared, it has doubtless met the eyes of many read-

* Constable's Miscellany.

ers of intelligence who have been abused and misinformed as to the concerns of a country on whose connexion with Great Britain one of her greatest statesmen has lately said that her glory and prosperity depend. In the collection where it now appears it will have ample circulation in our own country, where there are still some citizens who speak of Ireland, Irishmen, and Irish history, with less knowledge than might be expected where there exist so many ties of blood and honourable sympathy.

From the history of Ireland, also, may the enlightened American find lessons of deep moral import for the government of his own conduct, which can nowhere be better studied than there, where the conflicting principles of good and evil have been most strenuously active. He will there learn to value the blessing which his forefathers, at the peril of more than life, and with years of pain and toil, achieved for their country, when they redeemed it from colonial dependence and provincial degradation. He will see by what subtile means corruption enters and treason triumphs, and how what is hardly won may be too easily lost. He will apply to his own heart the farewell advice of the father of his country, and "cherish with immoveable attachment its union, the fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, though often insidiously and covertly directed; he will watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, and indignantly frown upon the first dawn of any attempt to alienate any part of his country from the rest." And if he be one whose name stands yet high and unsullied in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, he will forbear to urge what, should it succeed, would only serve to sap the strength and glory of his country, and tarnish his own name and memory for ever and for ever.

How far this well-penned and lucid summary of

Ireland's tragic story, which I have so freely here commended, may please every class of readers, I cannot say. Some may think that it states too mildly what called for heavier and more indignant reprobation, and passes too lightly over details that should have excited horror: that vengeance should have been invoked upon the head of the oppressor, and a brand imprinted upon the forehead of every wretch, "whether concealed by a mitre or a coronet, who owed his greatness to his country's ruin:" that on the bloody escutcheon of the titled traitor should have been emblazoned his peculiar achievements, till his high-sounding titles became by-words of reproach to future generations; and that the voice of the murdered patriot should have been made to speak in accents of awful warning from his tomb. But would that have been more wise, or more likely to accomplish the honest ends and objects of the author? Allowing that some things have been softened, is there not enough disclosed? And if this intelligent author had gone farther, and declaimed with impassioned indignation against the perpetrators of crime, might he not have been charged with the like fault as David Hume and other great and popular writers, who, for the swelling of their descriptions and display of their eloquence, have possessed whole generations with rancorous antipathies attended with baleful effects as well to Great Britain as to Ireland. To this point a saying has been cited by that living poet, who often veils deep thoughts and strong conceptions under the graceful folds of light and airy drapery:* "If I had my hand full of truths, I would open but one finger at a time." Enough of eloquence and passion has been bestowed upon the wrongs of Ireland. Every string has been touched, every strain has been sounded. The loftiest efforts of man's highest powers, and the prevailing strains of woman's eloquence, all has been exhausted,

* Moore, "Fudge Family."

from the whispers and murmurs of subdued misery, to the loud-toned denunciations of honest and fearless indignation. Of these the world is full, and they may be repeated even to satiety, but cannot be enhanced. Mr. Taylor avows himself a Protestant, and a Cromwellian descendant, whose wish is to conciliate, not to inflame. His objects are laudable, and he knows his ground and is master of his subject. He was publishing in Britain and for British readers, and he may have considered that too much light let in at once on those who have lain in darkness closes the eye that it offends: and that it may sometimes better serve the ends of truth even to lower that truth by some degrees to the standard of human credibility, than to insist too far upon what might stagger belief. Often was it barefacedly denied that any tortures were inflicted, though they were committed in open day. The fact was once boldly denied even by Lord Castlereagh in the British House of Commons, till he was confronted by his friend John Claudius Beresford, the presiding genius of the ever memorable riding-house, who did not choose to conceal those acts in which he gloried.

Another argument used by a courtly lord under Lord Camden's administration was, that if such things had taken place the Irish were too brave and gallant a people not to have rebelled against them. Here was then a satanical speculation upon the bravery and gallantry of the Irish people, and it was well founded. They did rebel, and, as the author has shown, had it not been for adverse winds and adverse chances, the minions of corruption would never again have taunted that brave people with such a bitter challenge.

Upon the whole, there was a place still vacant in our literature, which this able summary, all disenchanting as it may appear to some, is well calculated to fill up. It is however to be regretted that the author should have laid down his pen leaving the

drama incomplete, like, as has been somewhere said, the tragedy of Hamlet with the last act left out.

With respect to the period since the Union, the writer of this chapter would gladly comply with the wishes of his friends the publishers; but to do justice to its details would require a volume: a few leading observations must suffice.

It was on the first day of January, 1801, at the hour of noon, that the imperial united standard mounted on the Bedford tower in Dublin Castle, and the guns of the royal salute battery in the Phenix Park, announced to weeping, bleeding, prostrate Ireland that her independence was no more, and that her guilt-stained parliament had done itself to death. It was proclaimed abroad that rebellion was crushed, that those designing men who had led the people astray were all brought to justice or to submission, and now with the opening century was to arise a new and happier era.

The government was now possessed of the power that a vanquished insurrection gives, with an army of 126,000 well appointed soldiers, highly commended for the triumphs they had won, and the great and loyal spirit with which they had achieved such victories. Ministers certainly, upon their own showing, were all-powerful for evil or for good. Here was the time, had there been wisdom or virtue in the authors of this sanguinary revolution, so long darkly contemplated by the despotic minister, and now dictated by his will to his blind instruments: here was the moment to let the curtain fall softly down upon the bloody and tragical catastrophe: to throw back to the account of past centuries the crimes and cruelties with which the last had closed: to make good the promises and alluring hopes held out by the royal revolutionists and rebellion-makers, who had themselves so lately, when it suited a temporary purpose, drawn such strong and glowing pictures of former misgovernment, and of the contami-

nation of the parliament which they themselves had poisoned, as more than justified rebellion.* They had taken upon themselves the credit, and with it the responsibility, of the rebellion, or, which is the same thing, the *explosion;* and the revolution called the Union was from first to last the entire work of their own hands. It is not in the memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, nor in the prophetic speeches of Fox and Grey, that this truth is to be found, but in their own deliberate avowals.

They had surely shed enough of human blood, they had had enough of torture and every cruel infliction to glut the most sanguinary and vindictive passions. They knew that the victims of these cruelties were men whose views were as pure as theirs were treacherous; that they did nothing in rebelling but fulfil an order of nature, and answer to the speculation that was made upon their human feelings and their honest and honourable resistance. How incumbent then was it on these revolutionary ministers, even for their credit as politicians, after their so narrow escape from falling into the pit which they had dug for others, to have smoothed over their own misdeeds with what grace they could, and with large measures of wise atonement to have effaced the recollection of the guilty means they had employed to overturn that constitution of king, lords, and commons of Ireland, which the blind dupes of their artifices had so often sworn, and pledged at their command life, fortune, and honour, to support, down even to the very moment when they laid that constitution at their master's feet. Had they been as wise as crafty, instead of following up such a revolution by petty vengeance and pettifogging artifices, they had still a lofty game to play. Ireland had indeed been miserable under its own packed and corrupted parliament, religion had been paraded in foul alliance with both sin and

* See the speeches of Lords Clare and Castlereagh upon the Union.

shame, and government had been long carried on by the instrumentality of the executioner, of all kinds of torture that demoniac fury could invent, and by the agency of informers the vilest and the most wicked of human kind.

Here then was the occasion to break off from such alliances, to redeem religion from profanation, and restore its lost charm and benign influence; to heal dissensions, comfort the mourner, raise up the heart of the afflicted, and borrow something of that dignity of purpose that even in their most fallen state gave to the *united* patriots a melancholy lustre, and threw a deep dark shade over the triumphs of their enemies, which titles and mock dignities purchased with treason and perfidy could not illumine. Of these calumniated patriots this author has dared to speak with a feeling of respect that reflects honour on himself, and time will do them further justice. If ever men devoted themselves with pure disinterested sincerity of heart to their country, they did so; and if ever oppression justified resistance, it was that against which they rose.

It has been shown by what sinister means the Union was accomplished, and unhappily that consummation was unaccompanied by any omen that gave hope or presage of a happy issue. The chief actors were deserters from the principle of reform, to which they had been pledged respectively in early life, and by which they had climbed to notice and to power.

William Pitt, whose father rejoiced that the American colonists had taken up arms, and showed themselves worthy of the rights of man, which they maintained, had sat in that convention at the Thatched House tavern in London, and in the meetings at the privy gardens under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond, where universal suffrage was the chief object. In 1782 this (then) great reformer observed, that "without a reform in parliament, we should be

always rushing into unjust and expensive wars: without a reform in parliament, there never could be established an administration of honest men; and no honest man could become a minister of the crown."*

Robert Stewart, when he first set up upon the republican or presbyterian interest against "the lordly interest," for his native county (Down), solemnly pledged himself upon the open hustings to his constituents to support and promote in and out of the house of parliament, with all his ability, the following bills: 1st, for amending the representation of the people; 2d, to exclude pensioners and placemen; 3d, for limiting their number; 4th, for preventing revenue officers from voting; 5th, for rendering the servants of the crown in Ireland responsible; 6th, to protect the personal safety of the subject against arbitrary and excessive bail, and against the stretching of the power of attachment beyond the limits of the constitution! Such was he who corrupted and annihilated that parliament; held places and sat in parliament; gave places to men who sat in it, increased the number of placemen and pensioners, suspended the habeas corpus, enacted the insurrection act, which, together with the gunpowder bill, &c., left no right unviolated, established martial law, and instead of responsibility, gave a large and unlimited charter of indemnity to the delinquent servants of the crown, for the administering of a system of torture and rigour beyond the laws; and pursued with renegado vengeance to death, and even beyond the grave, the friends to whom he stood so pledged, and over whose shoulders he had risen to power.

Of Fitzgibbon (Earl of Clare) this account is given by his intimate Sir Jonah Barrington. "In 1781, he took up arms to obtain a declaration of independence. In 1800, he recommended the introduc-

* Mr. Brownlow's address to his electors in 1830.

tion of a military force to assist in its extinguishment. He proclaimed Ireland a free nation in 1783, and argued that it was a province in 1799; in 1782, he called the acts of the British legislature towards Ireland a daring usurpation upon the rights of a free people, and in 1800 he transferred Ireland to the usurper." This was written by Sir Jonah when he was judge of the Irish admiralty, with 800*l.* salary; and Mr. Foster, indignant at having been made the blind tool in the revolution, which lowered his pride and consequence, helped Sir Jonah to such documents as would show the corrupt bargains, and all the subornation, perjury, and bribery by which it had been brought about. Two numbers of a splendid history of the Union, with engraved portraits and precious anecdotes, appeared; but the judge's salary was raised to 2500*l.*, and to the great detriment of truth no more has been heard of his history of the Union to this day, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain; and Mr. Foster submitted his proud spirit, and became once more the creature of his former master William Pitt.

So much treachery as the history of Ireland unfolds, and in so many persons who have been reputed honourable, and figured large in history, would tempt one to agree with those philosophers who hold that each man has two souls, a good one and a bad one; and where one country is held in subjection to another, as a province or a pachalic, the evil spirit there assumes the empire. Had those ministers, Mr. Pitt and Lords Castlereagh and Clare, been true to their own honour and to the principles to which they were first pledged, they needed not to have fallen, the one by his own hand, the other two through disappointed pride and broken hearts. All three lived to realize the moral of that beautiful allegory, where the breathless and exhausted racer snatches the prize for which he had panted, and finds it a gilded bauble, as hollow as the heart of the betrayer. Did

they think, vain mortals, that truth could have no virtue when they proved recreant, that they could stay its mighty course, or had the prophet's power that bade the sun stand still? The power they had indeed was great, and its abuse still greater. How they squandered the resources of an empire, and taxed unborn generations, visiting the sins of the fathers who submitted to them upon the children, to we know not how many generations, is wonderful to think upon. It rests not, however, in figures of vain rhetoric, but in figures numerical and positive.

When Mr. Pitt began his system of finance, the debt of England, which originated in King William's wars, and was coeval with the faithless treaty of Limerick, with its augmentation by the war against American independence, was 267,152,803*l.*, and the yearly interest nearly ten millions of pounds sterling: enough to appal the sense of any minister capable of looking forward, or magnanimous enough to prefer his and future generations to his own lust of power. When he (Pitt) ceased to govern, it had reached six hundred millions and upwards. In the accounts laid before parliament in 1808, terminating at the end of the year 1807, which immediately followed his death, the funded and unfunded debt of the United Kingdom was 670,604,231*l.*, and such its ratio of accumulation that it is now estimated in round numbers at the astounding sum of one thousand millions of pounds sterling. Such was he who, by his interested partisans and the blind dupes of his talents for sophistry and mystification, was called the heaven-born minister; but of whom it was more truly said that he took more from the constitution, and added more to the burdens of his country than any minister England had ever known. And now, between the interest of that debt, amounting to thirty millions, the yearly current expenses, even in time of peace, estimated at thirty millions, the

taxes for the support of the beggared population eight millions, pensions two millions, the county rates, parish cess, tolls, &c. three millions; the bishops' tithes, and for the clergy of all denominations, of England, Ireland, and Scotland, by law or voluntary, seven millions; the annual burden under which the people of the United Kingdom have to stagger is calculated at eighty millions.*

Before the war against American independence, Ireland was poor, but owed no debt. That war was to her a *fraterna acies*, for it was against the interests and inclinations of the majority of her people. It bestowed upon her a debt of between two and three millions; but it brought some advantage. It gave her her volunteer army, and somewhat of a national spirit, and won for her that sunny hour of independence and prosperity which, all transient as it was, sufficed to show what with the free employment of her own great national resources she might soon become: and for a little season, rare and wonderful, there was in Ireland peace, union, and contentment. But it could not last; for as the web of her destiny was laid in malice, so it was to be still woven with the same continuous thread. History tells us that the pride of Pitt was piqued in the early period of his reign by the rejection of his commercial propositions; and from that time, it would appear, that vengeance was mingled with every measure that regarded Ireland, and the subsequent question of the regency in 1788 increased his desire to overturn her independence and fetter her growing prosperity. He chose fitting agents for this purpose, whose obedience and fidelity he secured by a large license to oppress and spoil their native land; for Fitzgibbon, Beresford, and Foster were, as well as Lord Castlereagh, all of Irish birth. Fitzgibbon, afterward Earl Clare, was made lord-chancellor of Ireland, Mr. Foster speaker

* See Six Letters, &c. by General G. Cockburn, K.C.H., and magistrate for the counties of Dublin and Wicklow, Ireland, p. 117.

of the Irish House of Commons, and Mr. Beresford first commissioner of the revenue, by which means he secured the presidencies of the parliament and treasury; and while the resources of England were employed in dictating forms of government and subsidizing unwilling nations, the treasures wrung from indigence in Ireland were spent in pampering worthless magnificence, bribing parliament men and parliament owners, fomenting unholy religious and political animosities, and in entertaining a host of infamous informers, creatures such as Reynolds, Bell, Martin, Newell, Dutton, Jemmy O'Brien, and a thousand such others, whose description is so admirably given by Curran in the case of *Hevey against Sirr*, which the character and exploits of Jemmy O'Brien and the episode of Hevey's mare have rendered so memorable. These were a part of what were called the "*loyal*," or the "*king's friends*," sometimes saviours of their country; but more popularly designated the "*battalion of testimony*;" and the most polluted of them all was that Reynolds, whom Lord Ellenborough, chief-justice of the King's Bench in England, was not ashamed to say he could embrace with gratitude. And it is worth noting that on the same day when the corporation of Dublin, in a paroxysm of Orangeism, disfranchised Grattan and a number of the honestest patriots, they voted the freedom of the city to Lord Nelson and to Reynolds the informer. Such were the alliances made in the name of the monarch whom it had pleased Heaven to afflict with mental darkness, and by such associates the government was upheld; such the uses to which the public treasure was devoted.

As to the debt of Ireland, if that can be so called which was contracted against her consent, and if it were due never could be paid, it consists of two distinct amounts,—that created before the Union, or the old debt, and that contracted since, or the new debt. The old debt began with the war against American

independence, and was on Mr. Pitt's accession in 1784 between two and three millions, and had increased at the time of the Union to thirty, as appears by resolutions brought by Sir John Newport, chancellor of the Irish exchequer, in March, 1811, before a committee of the House of Commons. The debt contracted on account of Ireland since the Union is said to exceed one hundred millions of pounds sterling, which amount was accumulated in seventeen years, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of Lord Castlereagh that the Union would be a bar to all future augmentation of debt or taxes. Sixteen or eighteen millions of this debt was incurred for putting down that rebellion which the ministers had purposely provoked; and that part Ireland certainly is not bound to pay. And Sir John Newport, moreover, told the British minister in his place in parliament in 1822, that the *fiction* on which the debt was borrowed gave England no right to require that a shilling of Irish taxes should be applied to its liquidation. This fiction was the assumption, against every remonstrance, that Ireland was able to pay two-seventeenths of all that was raised in England. When her taxes failed, and increased taxation produced a diminished revenue, the money was borrowed in her name; and that she neither would, nor could, nor ought to pay it: and yet it has been lately asserted by a great cabinet minister, that if England should give back to Ireland her parliament, she must be content to take it charged with her proportion of the imperial debt, amounting in all to one hundred and thirty millions; a heavy ransom to save the weaker vessel from being towed under water. Such have been the fruits of that Union, purchased by so much crime.

Another of its bad consequences is that of ABSENTEEISM, which it has mightily increased. Of this no better picture need be given than that of one of its great promoters, Fitzgibbon; for his services in

that behalf created Earl of Clare. In his speech on the Union above referred to, he says that, of twelve millions of *Irish* acres, at which the whole surface of the island was estimated, 11,697,629 changed hands, and some of them were confiscated three times in the course of one century, and that this mischief was greatly enhanced by these lands passing to foreigners never likely to settle in the country. One nobleman, he said, took 54,000*l.* yearly from the country; and many possessed whole baronies, who never expended one shilling in it. This Union-lord must have known, when he made that speech, that the measure he was wading through blood to achieve would greatly aggravate that grievance; for which he nor any other has yet proposed a remedy.

But of all the causes of the discontent and disorder that still prevail, the most pregnant was the unfair dealing with the five millions composing the Catholic community in Ireland. Hopes were given them, and written pledges, if common sense and common honesty be the interpreters of great men's words, that their emancipation would follow upon the Union, as a measure indispensable and a reward due to their loyal and patient acquiescence and resignation. But they found, to their astonishment and consternation, that every promise was kept that was made for any corrupt consideration; and that places, pensions, promotions, and peerages were lavishly dealt out, not only to those who first sold themselves and supported the measure, but still more to some of those who had fiercely denounced the whole measure and its authors in the most boisterous terms, with threats of deadly vengeance. Two remarkable instances of this are Mr. (now Lord) Plunket and Mr. Bush, now lord chief-justice of the King's Bench. But this was not the worst. Those who had been convicted, even by the unwilling action of the law, of horrible atrocities were rewarded, and no one was censured or removed for any enor-

mity he had committed. Of these one instance among hundreds may suffice.

Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, the sheriff of Tipperary, had flogged Mr. Wright, a respectable gentleman, almost to evisceration and nearly to death, for having in his pocket a note written in French, which proved to be a mere ordinary excuse for some engagement, unconnected with any public concern. The case was so flagitious, that in spite of the leanings of justice Mr. Wright obtained a verdict of 500*l*. damages. The sheriff petitioned the parliament to be indemnified. This was so strenuously opposed by Mr. Yelverton, that the bill did not pass; but an act was passed upon the instant prospectively indemnifying all magistrates and officers who should in such cases exceed the law. The malefactor was rewarded by the honour of knighthood, and with a regiment, which he filled up with unfortunate youths taken up and thrown into jail, and threatened with torture and death unless they would enlist. Was not this enough to make any people vindictive and ferocious?

The subject of the pledges given to the Catholics is too important to be passed over without notice.

While Mr. Pitt and his agents were covertly seducing the Catholic body to support the Union by promises of their emancipation, they were at the same time tempting the Orangemen by assurances that the Catholic question would be for ever set at rest by the passing of that measure; and it equally astonished both parties to hear, a short time afterward, of the resignation of the minister and his principal colleagues, upon the ground of inability to carry the Catholic question. Had this been sincere it would have been a redeeming circumstance, and shed some lustre on their character. But their own conduct forbids that favourable impression; for it is not only shrouded in dark mystery, but marked with mean juggle and prevarication.

Immediately after it was known in Ireland that

Mr. Pitt had resigned, Lord Cornwallis sent for Dr. Troy, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, and for Lord Fingall, the leading Catholic nobleman, and delivered to them respectively the following written papers, to be discreetly communicated to the bishops and principal Catholics:—

Copy of Mr. Pitt's pledge to the Catholics.—"The leading part of his majesty's ministers, finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body while in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages; and they have retired from his majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time: they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter: they may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects. And the Catholics will feel, that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, he must at all times repress with the same decision, as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body. Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by

any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims: but that, by their prudent and exemplary demeanour, they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained."

Lord Cornwallis's pledge.—"The sentiments of a sincere friend to the Catholic claims. If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause; but who would at the same time feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion. On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence *pledged* not to embark in the service of government except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is hoped, that on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description."

Mr. Grey, on the 25th March, 1801, moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation, and roundly charged Mr. Pitt with having given these pledges without sincerity, and that it was a delusion intended to be practised on the unhappy Catholics. Mr. Pitt, who still sat on the ministerial side of the house, said that he had no part in the wording of that paper, that it was drawn up by Lord Castlereagh. To the sentiments it contained, however, when *properly interpreted*, he subscribed.

His words on the 17th February, in his place in parliament, were still stronger, viz.—"I and some of my colleagues did recommend a measure which, under the circumstances of the Union, we thought of great importance to the completing of that measure, and the full attainment of all those advantages which we expected to derive from it. We felt that conviction so strongly that the measure appeared to us to be indispensable: but finding we could not propose it from government, we thought it inconsistent with our duty and our honour to continue in office."

Notwithstanding these avowals it was still denied by Mr. Pitt's adherents, that he or Lord Cornwallis had given any *pledges;* and this induced Mr. Plowden in 1805, when the Marquis Cornwallis was appointed to the general government of India, to apply to him for his justification, as he had published those documents in his Historical Review. The noble marquis answered, "that he perfectly well remembered that the paper was *hastily given* by him to Dr. Troy, to be circulated among his friends to prevent any immediate disturbances or other bad effects from the accounts that had arrived. That if he used the word *pledged*, it was without authority, and only meant that *in his own opinion* the ministers by resigning *gave a pledge* of their being friends to the measure of Catholic emancipation."

Such were the equivocations of these ministers. The Catholics, dismayed and consternated to find this the only fruit of their highly commended loyalty and patient resignation, implored the promised protection. They humbled themselves in the dust. They resolved to petition, and besought the minister who had so generously resigned for the sake of them and of his own honour, and of a measure indispensable to the safety of the empire, to lend them his countenance and to present their humble petition, without even asking of him to press it, but to let it be laid upon the table, with any the most remote as-

surance that they might not despair. They were told to hush their complaints, to beware how they petitioned, lest they should ruin their own cause: but above all to beware how they formed alliances with *Jacobins, or enemies to the government*,—a term usually thrown in the teeth of the few and great men then in the opposition: and they were reprimanded for using so bold an expression in their petition as *confident hope* and *reliance* on the assurances given to them. Mr. Pitt refused to bring forward their case in any shape, and thus rebuffed they applied to Mr. Fox, who presented their petition in the Commons' House, and was ably seconded, among others, by the present Earl Grey; and Lord Grenville presented it, and ably enforced it as an indispensable measure in the Lords.

It were tedious here to relate the perennial discussions of this question: enough to say, that they who gave the pledges, and those to whom they were given, and the monarch to whose infirmity was imputed the rejection of a measure indispensable to the welfare of his empire,—all had passed away and gone to their long home before that measure was conceded; and another reign had drawn near its close, and the generation to whom the boon was promised were doomed to waste like the Israelites in the desert; and not they, but their little ones, who had no knowledge to come to their inheritance: and nearly half a century had gone by from the time that Grattan told the ministers of that day, and their intolerant supporters, that they might as well stamp their foot upon this earth to stop the diurnal revolution that was to advance them to the morning sun, that shines alike on Catholic and Protestant, as hope to arrest the progress of the other lights of reason and justice, which approach to liberalize the Protestant, and liberate the Catholic: and at length, when this true prophecy was fulfilled, it was, like all that belongs to Irish

government, prodigious. Like the sudden transition in 1793 from stern denial to bland acquiescence, which Lord Charlemont imputed to the influence of General Dumourier; so here the victor of the Peninsula and of Waterloo, from some untold necessity, stepped forward in the front, and gave out a general order to his army of lords, and bishops, and commons, and to his staff, and his whole corps of dependants and expectants, to countermarch, open their ranks, and receive their fellow-subjects with the honours of war, and

> Quod obtanti Divum promittere nemo
> Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.

It was a gallant coup de main, well executed, without sentimentality, or compliment, or pledge, or artifice; and it showed that ministers have the power, when they choose to exert it, to do good as well as to do wrong. But to return to the pledges. The first measures in the imperial parliament touching Ireland were the continuance of martial law, the insurrection act, the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and all the horrible system of coercion proposed and supported by Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh, and sanctioned too by Lord Cornwallis, whose opinion of their necessity was stated in his absence by Lord Castlereagh. And the mild and merciful character of this lord-lieutenant was alleged as an argument, that the mighty powers thus committed to the viceroy over the lives and liberties of the Irish people would not be abused; although it was well known that he was soon to resign his station in that country. Such was the bad faith throughout.

What made these proceedings still more glaring was, that the king was made to say in his speech, which was not delivered till the 2d of February, though the parliament met on the 22d of January, that not only the rebellion, but the hostile spirit that occasioned it, had entirely ceased. And yet the

12th of March was the day on which Lord Castlereagh moved for the renewal of a bill for martial law, of which the preamble stated the actual existence of a dangerous conspiracy in Ireland to subvert the government. Mr. Sheridan observed that this bill was for a second renewal of the original one; that the former renewal was at a time when both houses of the Irish parliament were addressing the lord-lieutenant upon the entire suppression of the rebellion; so it might be renewed as often as ministers desired it without evidence or responsibility. Messrs. Grey and Whitbread opposed it warmly; but the only Irish member who joined with them was Sir Lawrence Parsons, of whom Theobald Wolfe Tone in his journals has spoken with such warm encomium, and whose poem on the state of Ireland, beginning,

"How long, oh slavery! shall thine iron mace wave o'er this isle,"

concludes the first volume of Tone's Life.

What then, it might be asked, could be the condition of a country where, at the time when its peace and loyalty were made subjects of congratulation by majesty itself and stated from the throne, such harsh and contradictory proceedings were the first-fruits of a measure that was to bring healing on its wings; and when to the dispositions of a proconsular governor, whose instructions to be mild or merciless may vary in a day, the people must look as to their fate? when the most transient relaxation of atrocities unparalleled is a blessing to be hailed with gratitude, as though it were an angel's visit?

Of this accursed system of martial law in the hands of interested fanatics, general descriptions give but a vague idea. How feathery light the avenging rod of justice falls on the privileged and favoured delinquent, the following instance may serve to show.

In the interval between the suppression of the insurrection and the enactment of the Union, when

policy most required some apparent discountenance of the Orange ferocity, a yeoman of the name of Wollaghan murdered in the arms of his mother a sickly youth called Dogherty, who had moreover a government protection. Lord Enniskillen was the president of the court-martial before whom the yeoman was brought for trial. No denial nor palliation was attempted; on the contrary, the prisoner boldly justified under the following order of his commanding officer, proved by several officers and non-commissioned officers and a private, who also proved that this order had been constantly acted upon:—

"If any yeoman on a scouting party" (these were daily) "should meet with any whom he knows or suspects to be a rebel, he need not be at the trouble of bringing him in, but may shoot him on the spot."

This order seems copied from the head-cutting statute of Edward IV., A. D. 1466, as the whole system seemed but a *fac-simile* of ancient barbarity, and every wicked act had its prototype in those abuses which Sir John Davies has described as the source of such lasting disorder, as will presently be shown.

The prisoner was without difficulty acquitted. And Lord Cornwallis disapproved of the sentence, as "acquitting Hugh Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which by the clearest evidence he appears to have been guilty." He ordered the yeoman to be dismissed from his corps, and not to be received into any other; and "that a new court-martial should be convened, and none who sat upon Wollaghan be admitted as members." And this was thought an act of most exalted benignity!

The immediate successor of Lord Cornwallis was Lord Hardwicke. He was appointed by Mr. Addington, who was pledged to resist the Catholic claims. His policy was to deceive by a display of mildness and conciliation. He had, when he commanded a fencible regiment in Ireland, issued a regimental order forbidding the frequenting of Orange

lodges, but he afterward fell under suspicion of having joined that association; and in 1804 that order was by desire inserted in the postliminious preface of Mr. Plowden, with the following remark: —"It is to be lamented that when the noble colonel became the chief governor of Ireland, some act of state was not passed for checking or breaking up all those lodges or societies, formed for party or other mischievous purposes, the evil tendency of which his lordship once so clearly saw, and prudently guarded his regiment against."

As to the policy of Mr. Pitt in regard to the Catholics, it may well be that he was willing for his own sake to have given them just so much of political consequence as would serve to counterbalance the presumption of the Orange faction, who had shown a disposition to turn upon and bite their master. And if the Catholic clergy had accepted of the *veto* and a *regium donum*, and agreed to preach passive obedience to his will, they might have become perhaps the ascendency party, and the Orangemen the mutineers; for they would without the countenance and protection of the minister have hardly been of consequence enough to be called rebels.

It is not now a question whether a union might not have been concerted, founded upon principles of that perfect equality necessary between two kingdoms, mutually dependent upon each other; nor how far the act and the articles of the Union were just and equal; but the manner in which it was forced upon the nation, and all the circumstances accompanying its progress, have left such foul blots upon its fearful records that no wonder if such were its first-fruits and such its lasting evils; that it has answered no good purpose; and that all the distempers that ill treatment generates have but increased down to the present day.

The first insurrection that followed upon the renewal of the laws of terror was that of Robert Emmet, which has been treated as an insane attempt.

It is not easy for the truest friend and admirer of the talents and virtues of that youth to venture upon his defence: his own last and most impressive words forbid it, and they must be sacred:—"Let no man write my epitaph till my country is free." Oppression, we are told, maketh the wise man mad, and he had his share of it. He was the youngest and perhaps the most shining of three brothers, sprung from gifted and honourable parents, all of spotless name and great endowments; and if ever there were patriots pure and devout, they deserved that glorious name. His only surviving and beloved brother had been, by a signal breach of ministerial faith, long incarcerated, previous to his final and perpetual exile from his native land, of which he was indeed an ornament; and he himself had been long before rancorously expelled from his *alma mater*, which never did before nor since possess so fair a bud of merit and of hope; and this for no crime alleged but that he loved his country, and maintained her rights with all the energies and eloquence of youth inspired by truth. Noble of nature, his country's degradation touched his heart; the cries of the tortured entered into his soul. His mind caught fire—it was a holy flame, and may have burned too bright for mortal government. With him too fell Russell, whom to know was to love. Gentle of heart and merciful in nature, faithful and brave, with every grace of mind and person, and every charm of virtue; he too after having suffered years of imprisonment without trial, was driven to desperation, and also doomed to die upon a gallows.

There is a cloud over this subject which time may yet clear up, and then it may, perhaps, appear how far the hand of a faction, long practised in the wily art of luring men to their destruction, was in these transactions. The government accounts and proceedings of that day are full of contradictions, and argue either extreme folly, or great and wicked cruelty.

On the night of the 23d of July, 1803 (the night of the insurrection in Dublin), Mr. Secretary Marsden despatched an express to London, which occasioned Lord Hawkesbury to say, on receipt of it, in his place in parliament, that a rebellion had broken out more enormous than had ever before occurred; and on the following day the lord-lieutenant (Lord Hardwicke) wrote to Mr. Foster that his government had been taken by surprise. Upon the trial of Robert Emmet, Mr. O'Grady, the attorney-general, extolled the *vigilance and firmness of his majesty's* government, and the spirit and discipline of his majesty's troops, as if they had acquired a great victory over some formidable enemy. But Lord Castlereagh, nine months afterward, delivered an official account of the insurrection of the 23d of July, in which he stated it to have been so impotent and insignificant that the first repulse from a party of the 21st, commanded by a Lieutenant Brady, put an end to it; so that none of the insurgents were afterward to be met with, except a few who hid in corners of streets under the favour of a very dark night; and the whole was represented as the gathering of about eighty drunkards of the very lowest order.*

Whether the Irish government were surprised, an imputation which they dreaded more than that of cruelty or treachery, and sought themselves excuse upon their policy and tact, in making no show of preparation lest the insurgents might be warned against rising,—for this was asserted; or whether this assertion was true, and they contrived the explosion, as in 1798, remains in great obscurity and contradiction. But the death of Lord Kilwarden and other persons of consequence, made it unsafe to insist too far upon that excuse, and an attempt was made to affix blame upon the commander-in-chief, General Fox, as favouring the insurrection; because he had restrained

* Parl. Debates, 7th March, 1804.

the excesses of the soldiery during his command, with a view to the peace of the country and to prevent murderous affrays. And the general was recalled, and grossly libelled, but triumphantly defended by his brother, the Honourable Charles James Fox, in the debate on the motion of Sir John Wrottesly for an inquiry into the conduct of the Irish government.*

Sir E. B. Littlehales, secretary for the war department, was entertaining General Craddock and a large party of military friends at dinner, when the distracted and afflicted Miss Wolfe interrupted the revelry by announcing the murder of her father and brother, which she had just witnessed. And it was thought strange that Lord Kilwarden had been that morning at the castle with Mr. Secretary Marsden, the then sole and efficient minister in the absence of Mr. Wickham, the chief secretary, and that though this secretary had official intelligence from eleven or twelve different magistrates of the intended insurrection, he should have made no communication to so important a magistrate as the chief-justice of the King's Bench. But there was a still more lamentable incongruity when this insignificant attempt, as it has been described, was made the foundation of new measures of vindictive cruelty, little short of that which followed upon the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, disgraced the administration of Lord Camden, and caused the rebellion in 1798.

The object in 1798 was to goad to irritation by open outrage, or break down the spirit of the people by vile degradation: that of 1803 was vengeance by lingering and torturing captivity.† And allowing Lord Castlereagh's statement to be true, for less than one hundred engaged in an insurrectionary movement, quelled by a lieutenant's party in an instant, the jails were filled with thousands, against whom no particle

* See Rep. p. 43.

† Plowd. Hist. Irel. since the Union, vol. i. p. 226.

of evidence was at any time brought forward. It sufficed to have survived the torture, or escaped from the perjury of the suborned informer, to have incurred the malice or displeasure of an under-secretary, or his clerk, or runner, to be consigned to a dungeon without show of pretext, without means of appeal or prospect of redress. There are yet surviving some victims of inhuman and unwarrantable incarceration, who never could obtain a trial of any kind, but who underwent incredible misery, inflicted through personal vengeance, in the hopes of depriving them of life. A detail of those enormities was set forth in a memorial of a number of the sufferers, proved by affidavits sworn in open courts of law, and by full evidence before a parliamentary committee, to which no answer was given by ministers or their adherents, but mysterious, evasive, and unmeaning phrases of self-commendation.

At the meeting of the imperial parliament in the autumn following the insurrection (22d Nov. 1803), it was stated in the speech from the throne, that "the leaders and inferior agents in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy had been brought to justice, and the public tranquillity had suffered no further interruption." Nevertheless two bills were brought in by Mr. Yorke for suspension of the habeas corpus act and the revival of martial law, chiefly upon the authority of a report from a secret committee. And though a few honourable men opposed the bills in both houses, among whom was Fox, the constant vindicator and friend of oppressed Ireland, and Lord Hutchinson, who asserted that the ministers deserved to be impeached; yet they were few, and the bills passed through both houses without a division.

If it be asked how so many noble lords and honourable commoners could be so unanimous in measures so unjust and abhorrent, it may be asked in return what ruinous measures have not been carried by as great majorities in that parliament, whose cor-

ruption at length roused the whole British nation to demand its reform. But there is another answer well worthy of deep attention, which has been already pointed out; and that is, the false idea that Ireland was a subjugated, dependent, conquered province, to be dealt with as a colony whose prosperity was dangerous, and whose commerce was to be depressed in favour of the dominant nation. And yet it cannot be denied, that from the year 1782, at least, Ireland was indisputably as independent of England in her laws, legislature, and trade, as England was of Ireland; and ministers were no less impeachable for their acts of misrule in the one country than in the other. Happily for the English people, they timely anticipated the last extremities before the picket, pitch-cap, walking gallows and indemnified murders and treasons had been wrought into their system of police. But why did they not raise their voice as audibly against these abuses in the sister island? For the same reasons that have been assigned, as will be shown presently, for the evils of the first four centuries of English misrule; that is to say, the hostile spirit of the administration, that delivered the country into the hands of usurping factions, and the mischievous and treacherous councils of the great lords, who "laboured to effect a perpetual bar and separation," and whose interest lay in misrepresentation and division, and in opposition to the true interests of both nations.

There have been at all times men, whose names stand fair in history, who have in Ireland acted the part of demons. Of these two remarkable instances have been cited in the persons of the heroic and chivalric Raleigh, and his friend the sweet and tenderly complaining poet Spenser. The former was employed in the detestable massacre of the garrison of Smerwick, which had surrendered on mercy, for which and other such services he was rewarded with 40,000 acres of confiscated lands: the latter was

guilty of deliberately recommending a repetition of the atrocious plans of extermination, of which he had witnessed and well described the horrors during the desolation and havoc of the Desmond wars. In describing the effects of the famine, created by the burning of the corn and laying waste the country, which he had before witnessed, and proposing his plan for a renewal of the like inhuman proceedings, he uses these words:—"Being thus kept from manurance and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint, they would quietly consume themselves and devour one another; the proof whereof I saw sufficiently in those late wars of Munster: for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they would have been able to stand long; yet in one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stoney heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses, or shamrocks, to these they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue therewithall; that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast."

This amorous poet, for his slanders of the Irish, his adulation of Elizabeth, and his flattery of his patrons, Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Leicester, obtained a grant of three thousand acres of land out of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, and took up his residence in the castle of Kilcolman, where he describes himself as a gentle shepherd,

keeping his sheep "under the mole that mountain hore, and in the coolly shades of the green alders by the Mulla's shores." His tender and amorous meditations were not, however, uninterrupted. That mountain and those shores sent back the curses of the dying and the dead; vengeance arose and retributive justice, and during the rebellion of Tyrone this castle was consumed by fire, and in it, it is said, a child left by the great poet in his flight. The spoiler was spoiled, and died in indigence; and his friend Sir Walter Raleigh, who had shown no mercy, found none in his turn; but fell a victim to royal vengeance, and died, not for his crimes committed against Ireland, nor by the fair judgment of the law, but by law-murder.

It might be said, why at this time dwell upon these scenes of discord, and revive the memory of wrongs that can have no remedy? And certainly if it were for no better purpose than to stir up the embers and rouse the flame which has burned before so fiercely and destructively, it would be reprehensible; but there is more safety in the truth than in concealment. Those who know nothing of the history of their country but the traditions of hereditary wrongs and present griefs, can learn no more from books than is already graven on the tablets of their hearts. It is for those who feel not, know not, nor care not what that people suffer that truth should speak with trumpet-tongue. And there is no good cause why torturers should sleep on beds of roses. It is for those in whose hands yet rests the power of good or evil to relax their grasp, or the conflict, though unequal, must be eternal. There must be some good to counterbalance so much evil. To forgive injuries is indeed a godlike virtue; but human nature has its principles stamped by the Creator, who has implanted passions in the souls of men, some of which it is the office of reason and religion to watch over and restrain; some that are necessary even to the

preservation of the species or the individual; some that exalt and dignify the being within whose breast they dwell, and of these none are more noble than the love of truth, the love of freedom, and the love of country. Till these are extinguished in the human heart, and man made brute, he will seek for justice, right, and independence by the means within his reach, let statesmen, lawyers, or divines say what they will. Doubtless to bury vengeance is a godlike virtue; but there is no precept human or divine which bids us bury truth, or blindly pay to sinful man that unreserved obedience due to God alone.

And what can fall more fairly within the province of reason and the philosophy of history than to detect and expose to the world's light the causes of such long calamity? What it is that like a fatal charm, or deadly spell, still mars the prosperity of that small, but fair portion of the earth, which seems designed by the Creator for the seat of more than mortal happiness, and yet remains ever intensely wretched? Why commerce flies those shores whose capes and bold outstretching headlands invite the traffic of the universe, and beckon the mariner of every clime to come within the hospitable shelter of their protecting arms, and anchor on the golden sands, or ride secure upon the deep clear waters that lie within them?

It is not ancient wars, however fierce or predatory, that can account for this; for the history of every country presents a similar theme, and none more than Great Britain herself, so often invaded, and so often conquered. But there the healing hand of time has ministered to past distempers. The sufferings of Queen Boadicea or the fate of the noble Caractacus are subjects for the tragic muse, but none for present strife. The alternate havoc, tortures, and mutilations of Danes and Saxons, or the still more terrific cruelties and spoliations of

the victorious Normans, fade away in the background of history, and no man lifts his arm to fight for either side. The wars for the crown that by reciprocal attainders thinned the nobles and swept away their nameless followers, or those still bitterer, where Christians, in defiance of the principles and precepts of their professed faith, set themselves up to fight the battles of the Almighty with the impotent and sinful arm of flesh; these, too, have nearly ceased to implicate benighted bigots in black and bloody crimes. But in unhappy Ireland the distempers of past ages still survive, and ancient wounds still bleed afresh.

The best solution of this problem is from the pen of Sir John Davies, who filled the first offices of law and state under King James, and was his instrument in the great Ulster confiscation. Although utterly insensible to the sufferings of the Irish, but, on the contrary, a speculative politician, who coolly discusses the two opposite modes of rooting them out in war or governing them well in peace: yet he does them justice in two respects; in the honourable character he gives of them, and in his genuine accounts of the abuses under which they had suffered for the space of four hundred years.

In his "Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never subdued by England," he says that "there is no nation under the sunne that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or that will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, though it be against themselves, so as they may have the benefit and protection of the law when upon just cause they do desire it. But if the English," he says, "would not govern them well in peace, nor could in war root them out by the sword, must they not need be pricks in their eyes and thorns in their sides to the world's end, and so the conquest be never brought to perfection?"

This author then specifies in detail, and with a

master's hand, the various abuses practised against the native Irish; and the great conformity they bear to those which have been practised in our times by those who have had the government of Ireland is truly remarkable.

"They were reputed aliens and enemies, disabled to bring any action, and so out of the protection of the law that it was no felony to kill them in time of peace."* What difference between this and the martial law and bills of indemnity, &c. in modern times?

"That any who wore their beards upon their upper lip might be seized by any individual, and their goods also, and be ransomed as Irish enemies."† Was this more hideous than the burning of pitch-caps upon the heads of those who wore their hair short, as is now the universal usage, not to speak of other tortures, and even of summary deaths, inflicted by those whose song of triumph was "Croppies lie down;" and among whom were men in authority and magistrates commissioned to execute justice and to keep the peace? It was also a heavy charge, as showing great barbarity, that they wore their own hair uncovered. Was that more shocking to reason and refinement than the wig of a lord-chancellor at this day, made of horses' tails or old goats' beards, badly imitating a lion's mane, and filled with powdered starch, under which array he sits, gravely and solemnly dispensing justice?

"Power was given to any liegeman of the king to cut off the heads of Irishmen, and bring them to a certain port-reeve, to be placed upon a stake, and obtain a certificate authorizing them to levy on the landholders of the baronies for their specified reward at so much for each head."‡ This may be more disgusting in terms, but is nothing more wicked in effect than the preferment bestowed and the sala-

* Stat. 25, Hen. VI. A.D. 1447. † 50, Ed. IV. c. 2.
‡ 40, Ed. III.

ries given from the public treasury to the miscreants whose consciences were stained with perjury, and their hands with blood.

"When the king would satisfy his conscience by referring to his Irish counsellors, they would advise him that the Irishry could not be naturalized without damage or prejudice to themselves or to the crown, and that such as had the government of Ireland under the crown of England did intend to make a perpetual separation between the English and the Irish." How does this differ from the more modern practices upon the conscience of the king for the purpose of exclusion and monopoly?

"The extortion of *coygne and livery*, which though first invented in hell, yet had it been used and practised there as it has been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the kingdom of Belzebub." This abuse was no other than the placing the soldiery at *free quarters* upon the inhabitants, of which Doctor Leland has given a description more than justified by what was practised throughout Ireland to goad the people to a premature rebellion at the close of the last century. "Riot, rapine, massacre, and all the tremendous effects of anarchy were the natural consequences. Every inconsiderable party who under the pretence of loyalty received the king's commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to barbarians, who sought only to glut their brutal passions, and by their horrible excesses to purchase the curse of God and man."

And Sir John Davies further observes, that "this crying sinne did draw downe as great or greater plagues upon Ireland than the oppressions of the Israelites did upon the land of Egypt; for the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were of short continuance, but the plagues of Ireland lasted four

hundred years together." Had the author lived to this day, he might have added nearly three hundred years more to the duration of the plagues of Ireland.

Thus might the parallel be run to an extent beyond the limits of this chapter. It is only further to be here observed, that for the latter period the distinction in great measure ceased between the English and Irish races, or the English by birth and those by blood, and religion was substituted for the rallying word of plunder and massacre. Thus when the Lords of the Pale were to be stripped of their estates, they were driven by the lords-justices into a confederation with the native chiefs, but which jealousies and dissensions among themselves rendered abortive, and they too had to drink the bitter cup even to the dregs; and then followed the popery code, founded upon the models of higher antiquity, and which Edmund Burke truly said had virtually existed centuries before the Reformation, and before the word Protestant was known or invented. This code, if it did not prohibit alliances between the different races under pains of high-treason as the old laws did, did make the uniting of two Christians in the bond of holy matrimony a felony of death. The destruction of the bards of old was a part of the government tactic; and express orders were given to Sir George Carew and Sir Henry Sidney to destroy all manuscripts that could be found; so have we seen the houses and implements of printers destroyed by military violence, and their persons incarcerated and immolated, without form of law or trial of any kind, as in the two notable instances of the "Northern Star" in Belfast, and the "Press" in Dublin.

That the enormities recited by Sir John Davies have been even exceeded in modern days is not so well known nor admitted as, for the sake of truth, and justice, and of lasting peace, which can only be founded on those principles, it should be. But

abundant evidence is recorded in statute-books and rolls of parliament of this great truth. There will be found, coexisting, a gunpowder bill depriving the people of arms for their defence; a convention act, to prevent meetings to petition for redress; insurrection acts, authorizing the infliction of the curfew, of depopulation, banishing, dungeoning, and every other act of tyranny by the most unworthy agents, and making the sacred and holy obligation "*to promote union and brotherhood of affection among all religious denominations*," a felony of death; bills of indemnity to screen from justice the acts of sworn exterminators. It was upon a motion for such a bill upon the heel of the Union, when the speech from the throne had declared that all was tranquil and loyal, that Mr. (Earl) Grey well observed, "that it should have been entitled 'a bill for the encouragement and protection of secret informers,' and that to cover every illegal act of ministers for twelve years was unprecedented and unconstitutional, and was, in fact, the severest censure upon the administration that required it."*

Add to all these the suspension of the habeas corpus act for a long series of years, authorizing summary imprisonment in secret dungeons, hulks, and military prisons, and finally the establishment of military law where no standard was raised, nor no enemy in presence; and let no man now wonder if a people so treated should be turbulent and vindictive; that they should not all at once discard their resentments, or look with confidence to a quarter whence so many wrongs proceeded, and where faith had been so often and so lately broken. The concession of the Catholic claims to equality in the enjoyment of human rights, and the reform of the general parliament, are no doubt great acquisitions, when regarded as means of further good; and the

* Plowd. Hist. Irel. since the Union, vol. i. p. 103.

accession to ministerial power of some who had through a long course of opposition uniformly resisted the measures of tyranny and coercion in Ireland, might well encourage the hope of large and liberal atonement. But it must be remembered that when in the year 1806 Mr. Fox, the most constant and decided adversary of those oppressions, by the strength of his principles, and a necessity induced by the system which he had so long and so loudly denounced, was called into the direction of the royal councils, his influence was little felt in Ireland; and twenty-five years after his death, the Catholic question, all indispensable as it was pronounced to be even by his rivals and opponents, remained in *statu quo*, and the reform of the parliament still longer; and even now, when, after a long lapse of time and a long life of opposition, his constant friend and colleague has been called to the highest station, it remains to see what he will, or what he can, effect to restore to Ireland peace and independence; and if he be willing to adopt measures sufficiently liberal and just, how far he will be supported by his colleagues in office, and by the British public, so long habituated to consider Ireland as a country subject to and dependent upon England, and not as fully independent of Great Britain as Great Britain is of her, which she is, unless that polluted act, the Union, has destroyed the independent constitution established in 1782, and crime has triumphed over law and constitution irrevocably and for ever.

Then considering the question in its true light as between two equal parties, what would Englishmen say if the Irish were, by virtue of a papal bull, to exercise such powers in their country; to abolish every right, and inflict every injury; and to do, in a word, as has been done to them; to bribe their parliament, and after using it till it became loathsome, make its corruption an argument for its extinction; if Ireland should call on Britain to pay

debts which she had not contracted, and to share with her in fraudulent and wilful bankruptcy, whereof the fatal catastrophe cannot be long delayed, and which will devote to indigence and misery, not the money kings and money-changers who for their per centages have ministered the means of war and desolation, but will fall upon the widow and the orphan, whose cries may reach the judgment seat of heaven while they appeal in vain to earthly justice.

There can be no doubt that it would have been for the interest of both nations to have still remained in peace and amity, the prosperity of each being to each a benefit; and it is equally clear that a hostile separation would at this day be more hurtful to Britain than to Ireland. Great Britain has much power to vex and injure Ireland, but Ireland has no less to ruin England. Driven to despair, she might find allies, as did the United States of America in France and Spain, or the United Provinces when they recovered their independence through the alliance and protection of the English Queen Elizabeth. She might call in a foreign prince with foreign troops to effect a glorious revolution, as the English people when oppressed brought in King William; and every formula of revolution is already made to her hand. A terrible crisis may be near, when England must take the foremost and most elevated ground in opposition to the unholy alliance against the independence of nations and the rights of mankind, or sink to insignificance, and tamely suffer the Cossack's lance and swords of vassal boors to give the law: and then farewell that boundless commerce, that triumphant flag, and sovereignty of the ocean, that will not be forgotten nor forgiven. What a difference then, should Ireland be with her heart and hand, or heart and hand against her. This is the point upon which English people and English ministers should meditate both night and day, while Irishmen of all denominations should, if they will not be for ever de

spised and trodden upon, learn to forbear, and to forgive, and to unite together in brotherhood of affection, and to make that holy union once so auspiciously begun the subject of their prayer at rising and at setting day, the burden of their matin and their evening song.

Here, though as yet upon the threshold, we must stop. It were too long to follow all the meanderings of fickle policy and fluctuating councils: the frequent shiftings of ministers, deputies, and secretaries, as gamblers change cards, places, and partners when their art fails, and they invoke blind Fortune. What regards the Catholic question may be thus summed up. When on the passage of the Union they claimed the fulfilment of the promises made to them, and expressed a confident hope and reliance on the honour of the government, they were told that such expressions amounted to a presumptuous menace, and that if they petitioned they would lose their best friends, and only injure their own cause. When they adverted to the pledges given to them, those pledges were denied; and when produced in writing, ministerially *interpreted* so as to mean nothing. Their loyalty and resignation were commended, but also made arguments for leaving them as they were. In war or insurrection, concession was dangerous; in peace, useless. And when their patience was exhausted, and they placed their petitions in the hands of the liberal members of the opposition, then they had sealed their doom by joining with enemies of government, and abetters of jacobinism and French principles. When the pope assisted at the coronation of Napoleon, and was a captive in his hands, all temporal and spiritual power was said to be united in the dispenser of thrones and empires, and then it was no time for indulgence. When his return was hailed by the British at his court, and a loan from the British treasury

offered to his holiness, there was still a fear that he might be succeeded by a cardinal allied by kindred to the mighty enemy.* When that enemy fell a prey to the only power that he could not conquer, his own inordinate ambition, and victory deserted the banner that wisdom had forsaken and liberty disowned, then there was no fear for England, and of course no hope for Ireland. And when at length the two great measures of reform and emancipation came, as "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," so they brought to a mortified and indolent body neither joy nor health. And Ireland still remains, as through her long night of misery, morbidly excited by the keen feeling of past wrongs and present suffering, without peace, or arts, or commerce, or civilization; and even the rude produce of her soil swept off to be consumed without return in another country; and her liberation resting still in dim and distant hope.

One hope there is; if it prove vain then all is vanity. It is in the renewal and furtherance of that Union which, in spite of adverse interests and unforeseen disasters, went so near to make of Ireland a nation, and of her children a people. When the Catholics, represented by men of unsophisticated understandings, and acting in the spirit of the age, embraced their countrymen who had first lent them a succouring hand; and when they vowed together on the altar of their country to abjure those hatreds fomented by their enemies, which had set Christians against their Christian countrymen with a zeal no less than that of infidels in the dark days of pagan superstition, pride was alarmed and prejudice was shocked. And the oligarchy, which, like the Mameluke powers of Egypt, servile and tyrannical, preyed upon the people with whom they felt no sympathy, saw nothing in this Union but a treason-

* Cardinal Fesch.

able conspiracy against their prescriptive sway: and this sacred obligation, which warred against the oath of sworn exterminators, was made by law a felony of death. And many were the martyrs who fell by the law and by the sword, whose virtues were enough to consecrate the axe, the cord, and all the vilest implements of their destruction. But there was in the motive and the object an ennobling principle which gave to those even in the humblest walks of life a dignity and elevation which did not forsake them under the severest trials.

A country lad was tortured to enforce a disclosure of some hidden arms, and his sister was brought to witness the proceeding. She could not bear to see his agonies, and she discovered. He raised his languid eyes and said, "Oh, Jenny, I could have borne it all, and in dying blessed you; but now you have brought disgrace on me, and ruin on the cause."

But the death of martyrs is no reason why the commonwealth should be despaired of. Individuals have ceased to exist, but their principles were true and are imperishable. And it seems as an ordinance of Almighty Providence that man's regeneration, like his first birth and entrance into life, should be through pangs, and throes, and toil, and suffering: for history tells us of no nation that ever yet redeemed itself from long and heavy bondage, but through the sufferings of devoted victims. Some boldly perish in the first assault; others who follow pass over them to victory, and enter in the breach, and share in the rejoicings of the hard-won victory. But the brave who led and fell will be cherished in memory by every honest patriot whose heart is capable of expanding beyond the envious and narrow sphere of self. And when some future day of trial comes—when all is to be won or to be lost—voices which the rude executioner had silenced may, when under better auspices invoked, arise from out

the tomb, and marshalling together the living and the dead, rally all friends of freedom to her glorious standard. If that day should come when civil and religious strifes shall cease, and all that is good shall follow as it must, happy the time-worn patriot who shall see that consummation to which his very being was devoted: then may he raise his grateful eyes and voice to heaven, and lay him down in peace to take his rest.

The only duty that was left for the survivors of those days of terror they have discharged: that was, so to live that in their lives their country should not be disparaged. Many sought an asylum in this country, who in public or in private stations have not swerved from their integrity, and some yet living within the precincts of the city where I write might be cited and enumerated, but that their honest pride would not brook it, for men of their true stamp are never ostentatious or vainglorious. But there is one upon whose worth death has already set his authentic seal, of whom a few words may not seem misplaced.

When Thomas Addis Emmet, on the field of his renown, and in the full exercise of bright intellect, was by the mandate of Almighty power called in one moment from life into eternity, and sunk into the arms of his heart-stricken colleagues and weeping brethren, words cannot paint the scene of sudden sorrow, and the sensation that seized upon the hearts of all who witnessed the catastrophe. And not in these alone, but throughout the whole community there was but one consentaneous feeling of deep and sad regret. The rumour, as it flew from tongue to tongue, soon overspread the wide-extended city which claimed him for its own, and like the overcasting of a summer's cloud so quickly turned the sunbright day to darkness. The halls of justice, which that voice was never more to charm, were silent all, save in resolutions passed in his honour,

or in the murmurs of deep concentrated feeling and affection. The press, the true expositor of public sentiment, breathed nothing but his eulogy, no matter what the shade of party or opinion, for every pen seemed instinct with the pure love of virtue. Nor could any studied eloquence surpass the prompt, unsought, unbought effusions which that love inspired. The municipal authorities, free chosen representatives of the will and wishes of their fellow-citizens, with the insignia of their office, waited on his obsequies: grave and reverend men bore up his pall, and followed his remains. The sages of the bench, the ripe in years and honours of the bar, and all the young aspirants met together, and with one voice decreed him every testimonial in their power—an image of his outward lineaments, and a tablet of their recorded love in monumental stone. But that lifeless image and that cold marble could not speak the glowing sentiment that lived within their bosoms. They resolved besides that his virtues should be recalled in living speech: and had he who filled the highest office in the state, whose name is in the nation's annals identified with all its highest interests, been spared, Emmet's virtues would have received new lustre when told by Clinton's tongue. But ere he could discharge the claims of friendship he too was snatched away, and became himself the subject of splendid eulogy. It was, moreover, resolved, as a further incitement to the younger members of the profession, and as a model for their imitation, that there should be written a history of his whole life; and with that honourable duty I was charged.

Friends of my friend, friends of departed excellence, friends kind and dear to me, forgive me if I have not performed that task, which, could I have executed it in any manner worthy of you or of your cherished object, would have been the crowning grace and honour of my life. But vainly have I

sought those helps which might have been expected. The destroying hand of party rage had been but too successful. In those days of terror and of domiciliary visits, while your beloved brother lay captive in a solitary cell, every letter and every paper which bore his name was, from panic or prudential caution, cast into the fire. I speak this from authority. His children then born were but in tender infancy, and could not, more than those since born, contribute any information of his earlier life; and other sources grief has frozen up. Of the friends of his youth, some have departed this life, some have turned their faces to the quarter where fortune and patronage are to be sought, and some are withheld by fear of penal consequences. From the time that he transferred his household gods over the seas he held no correspondence with his native country, but on necessary business: and it must here be stated, however it may jar upon the sense of civilized humanity, the bill that banished him contained a clause that made it felony to correspond with him.

Thus darkness broods upon one hemisphere while light beams on another. Born in a land of oppression, where virtue scarce can live, his lofty energies, his upright soul, and large endowments foredoomed him to be adjudged a rebel and a traitor. Here, on the other hand, in the full light of law and liberty, he lived to be admired and honoured, and after death to be remembered as a rare specimen of human excellence and a model for imitation. Had he been of baser mould, could corruption have won him to betray, who can doubt that such talents would have commanded the highest of those rewards so lavishly bestowed on meaner men. And well did it become the sons of freedom to set against the courtly titles that gild the faithless, those higher honours which a sovereign people only can bestow, and a virtuous citizen only can deserve. In holding him forth as a model for youthful contemplation, you wisely con-

sulted those sympathies which nature's Author implanted in the human heart when he gave to virtue its beauty and attraction, that men might admire and imitate, and become good by imitation. The example of a good man's life acts like the noiseless process by which nature works her most beneficent ends, and wins to the side of honour and of virtue converts upon whom laws of penal sanction have no force.

The history, then, of such a life is not of small concern; nor will eager and enlightened curiosity be easily satisfied, nor ought it to be so. Where greatness consists in some particular and successful achievements,—in battles won by sea or land, in institutions founded, and endowed; or where learned volumes form the massive columns of a lasting reputation, there the relater has but an ordinary task, and it has even been said by a wise critic, that it is easier to praise a bad man than do justice to a good one.

The friend who moved the resolutions of the New-York bar observed, that to do justice to the character of Emmet would require talents equal to his own; and this was true as to a eulogy: but my task would have been history, and the simplest narrative of his pure life would have been eulogy enough. Had I possessed the means of tracing all his steps from his cradle to his grave, no idle affectation should have spoiled the beauty of such a narrative; and to its truth and simplicity I should have trusted for indulgence. Could I have shown from authentic sources all that belonged to such an individual, all that went to the composition of such a character, grateful would have been the task. To show distinctively how much was owing to organic structure, and inherited from those to whom he owed his being; how much more to education; what to the early culture of a tender mother; what to the guidance of an accomplished father in riper

years; what to the practical and all-important lessons of example in the polished and harmonious circle of domestic love; what the first indications of those early sensibilities which are the life-springs of genius; how the young seedling by its vigorous instinct pushed forth its tendrils to seize on the supports by which it was to climb; how it grew, how it budded, how it blossomed, and bore such rich, luxuriant fruit; where and how those rudiments of learning were acquired which form the scaffolding of higher knowledge; in what courses of academic study he delighted and excelled; what authors he preferred; and how he attained the greatest end of knowledge, the power to make his knowledge useful; how, when enriched by liberal attainments, he went abroad to seek in foreign travel for new objects of comparison and a knowledge of mankind, without which learning acquired by study is but vague, and unavoidable prejudices still beset the understanding; how he carried with him, like a merchant who embarks with a large assortment fitted for exchange, a stock of information to repay what he received. How precious would have been that correspondence which would have imparted the first fresh observations of a mind so strong and so profound; but still more precious would have been the effusions of a fond and faithful heart, had it been permitted to break the sacred seal of pure and tender love. But without these precious monuments, which neither zeal nor industry could supply, to attempt to write the biography of such a man must prove to the writer, as to the reader, a mortifying disappointment and a failure. It is well known that from the time that he resumed his profession in this country, his days were spent in courts, and his nights in deep research; and his life furnished few incidents but those connected with his forensic duties. At home, surrounded by his wife, his children, and his children's children, his pleasures centred.

The moments were few, but exquisite, when he could discharge himself from anxious toil, and mingling with the sports and pastimes of the little ones, stoop to their caresses, hearken to their prattle, and make his great mind obedient to their whims. Such were the pure sources of endearment that refreshed his spirit, and prepared him for renovated labour.

In the Appendix will be found the inscription on the tablet which, with a well-executed bust, constitutes the monument erected by the New-York bar, overlooking the spot where Emmet's voice was heard for the last time. There also will be found, in a report of his early and constant friend Dr. William James MacNeven, a description of the column raised to his memory by sons, descendants, and friends of Ireland: also a letter from Governor Clinton, connected with the subject; and an account of his first appearance in the highest court of the nation by one of its most accomplished members.

If in speaking of this departed friend I should be charged with enthusiasm, it is a charge to which an entire enlightened community is equally obnoxious. If the testimony I have borne to the integrity of the United Irish patriots be impeached as that of a party involved, consistency and justice require that I should repeat what I have before publicly averred:* that when my name was inserted in a warrant with a number of others, some of them friends whom I have never ceased to esteem, and others who were strangers to me, I was neither entitled to the credit nor liable to the responsibility belonging to their councils. And as there was no evidence nor charge against me, and all trial or inquiry was refused, that proceeding was in the eye of justice nothing short of the crime which in the Jewish law is called man-stealing,

* See Memoirs of Wm. Sampson.

in the civil law *plagium*, and by both punishable with death; and which in the law of England is called kidnapping, and punishable by fine, imprisonment, and pillory. And should those crimes, of which I was not the perpetrator, but the victim, be of virtue to deprive me, not only of my liberty, but of my credit also?

Although I have not the means of doing justice to the biography of Thomas Addis Emmet, for want of the interesting particulars of his earlier life; yet from the time that our friendship was cemented by a common sympathy for our afflicted native land there were in our destinies some striking coincidences. We had been associated in the defence of the injured, and the prosecution of the guilty: we were arrested by the same process, subjected to like solitary imprisonment, banished by the same act of parliament, one order struck both our names from the roll of barristers, and the same star led us to the same resting-place. And should I live till that time, which may not be far distant, when unjust power shall cease to weigh down honesty, when generous sympathies shall have free expansion, and returning justice shall unlock her stores; I may yet, perhaps, be enabled to complete the task to which I stand engaged by duty and by inclination. And not of him alone, but of countless others might the history be written. And many there were in whose hearts the duties of my profession and the ties of friendship gave me to read, when there was no concealment or reserve, and nobler never were. They did for their country what they could; and, when they could do no more, they met their fate with manly firmness. And he, if such there be, who thinks success the only title to remembrance, is himself undeserving of confidence and unworthy of success.

Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Fortune is fickle, and man is changeable; and it was, therefore, wisely said that no life can be pronounced happy or unhappy, virtuous or vicious, till its close. May he, then, who aspires to lead his country onward to freedom and prosperity, pursue his object with as much rectitude, and better fortunes, than those who went before; and so act as that whether fortune frown or smile he may have the approval of his own conscience, and be deserving of the world's regard: and to that end, let him follow the advice of the oracle to the stoic Zeno, who, when he inquired after what manner he should live, received for answer—

"*Consult the dead!*"

APPENDIX.

Report of Dr. Macneven in relation to Mr. Emmet's Monument.

We assemble to receive the report of the measures which have been adopted for completing the noble monument raised within view of this spot. You are all aware that we had lately among us a person of extraordinary endowments, one whom we knew intimately, whom we loved affectionately. Nor was it only for his bland manners, and fine sensibilities of heart, and constancy in friendship, and firmness in principle: his character had also an elevating influence on the fame of his country. He ranked among the highest of its gifted sons who display its fertile genius and its social spirit, who introduce the name of Ireland to the respect of the world. Commensurate with his value to relatives and friends, and to this his long-adopted home, was the appalling sensation that pervaded our city on the sudden occasion of his lamented death. Thomas Addis Emmet fell unadmonished by previous illness, in the midst of his forensic achievements, in this hall, in this field of his renown. It happened, not inaptly to the tenor of his course, that he began his advocation at the bar of New-York as counsel for the Manumission Society, vindicating the rights of man in the person of the African; and that he closed his brilliant career while defending a most humane bequest to superannuated seamen; having commenced and concluded his transatlantic life in the service of liberty and charity.

Emmet was moulded in Nature's happiest combination to fit him for his destined service. He possessed the physical qualities necessary to an accomplished speaker, with high intellect to master and employ knowledge; with imagination and feeling to sway the passions and the heart, and with the power of incessant labour to collect, discipline, and

perfect the varied materials of his argumentative and impassioned oratory. When we see a man thus favoured by natural talents, and thus accomplished by education, we behold one of nature's rarest, finest works. It is not surprising that his removal in one unexpected moment from this busy life's vocations to the oblivious silence of the tomb should produce, as it did, a general burst of sorrow and a common sense of bereavement. This feeling speedily showed itself in a meeting of citizens convened by public advertisement on the evening of the 21st of December, 1827. It was there resolved, "That a subscription be opened for erecting a monument to the late Thomas Addis Emmet, commemorative of his virtues and genius."

The resolution then adopted stands accomplished in the monument close by, which will evermore throw a melancholy grandeur on the cemetery of St. Paul's church. It is a marble monolithe of thirty feet elevation. It is inscribed on three sides in three languages. That part of the English inscription beginning with the words *In America*, and ending with the word *brilliant*, was written by Gulian C. Verplanck, a representative from this city in the Congress of the United States. The entire Latin inscription is from the classic pen of John Duer, counsellor at law; and the few lines of Irish were furnished by the Right Rev. Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston. These compositions, so chaste and beautiful, were spontaneously offered by gentlemen not intimately connected in friendship with the deceased, nor liable to the weakness or bad taste of flattery; but being superior themselves in genius and learning, they freely gave to merit the generous applause which it is most sure of receiving from kindred desert.

In the first moment of enthusiasm, the subscription was injudiciously limited to a small sum for each subscriber,—but as the idea of a more noble work soon suggested itself to persons of taste, it was seen that more ample means than the first contributions would be necessary. At this juncture a new impulse was given to the subscription by friends and clients of the deceased, and by public-spirited individuals who wished to encourage the adoption of the present beautiful and costly obelisk.

While inquiries were being made for estimates and a suitable material, news arrived of the so-called Catholic

Relief Bill having passed the British parliament, with a spiteful prohibition annexed against receiving any more Catholic rent, under pain of forfeiture to the crown. On all this being known to us here, the friends of Ireland dissolved their association, and turned over to the monument-fund the sum then remaining in the hands of their treasurer. Mr. Sampson, who moved for this appropriation, observed that "while we rejoiced in the triumph of civil and religious liberty, and paid due honours to the living patriots, it might be well to remember those who are no more. In doing so we should act worthily, and give to those who may at some future day have to sustain the same great cause at the peril of life and liberty, in defiance of the tyrant's vengeance, to feel and hope that though their sufferings may be great, yet that they will not be forgotten; that at the hour of death, or in the dungeon's silent gloom, when no friendly voice can reach their ears, no friendly step approach them, no other consolation than the proud consciousness of virtue bear them up; yet, that if they live and die faithful, uncorrupted, and unsubdued, they will not be left forgotten in a neglected grave. It may be difficult," continued the eloquent speaker, "where multitudes have devoted themselves with equal magnanimity, to distinguish or select; but sometimes occasions will present themselves where the honouring of one is the honouring of all, and where, for the sake of all, the opportunity should not be lost."

The net sum in the treasurer's hands was one thousand and six dollars and sixty-six cents; the friends of Ireland in Brooklyn added to it all that accrued with them since the last payment of rent, twenty dollars; the friends of Ireland in Charleston, South Carolina, sent one hundred dollars; and those in Savannah one hundred and twenty-four dollars and twenty-five cents, to aid the same patriotic purpose. All felt that those moneys originally raised to subserve religious liberty in Ireland, though they could not any longer be applied to that particular object, remained nevertheless appropriated to the cause of Ireland, and would now be well employed in doing honour to the enlightened policy of the United Irishmen, and to the national character abroad. So conspicuous a memorial of what this is capable of exhibiting in its best form is what no Irishman can behold without emulation, and no American can look on without respect.

Those who would lightly asperse the Irish, or, without due allowance for their unhappy position at home, who would exaggerate their faults, we will beckon to this monument and it will disarm their censure,—perchance it will touch their hearts for a noble people, suffering long adversity without debasement, and who never in all their thraldom had the meanness to be reconciled to their oppressions.

This affecting memorial will also bestow on our countrymen a universal education: the rapid education of example, the happy inspiration of what is just, noble, and beautiful in morals and conduct, which transforms the character at a glance, and which, like divine grace, received in an instant purifies the affections and actions for ever. Of the thousands upon thousands who have emigrated, and who still emigrate, to this blessed land, how many, under the pressure of English misrule, have lost the advantages of a good education! We see the finest materials in the world, the best heads and the best hearts running to wild and unprofitable luxuriance, like our own rich prairies of the west, for want of due cultivation. I wish, for the love I bear my native country, that her sons would venerate the genius of their ancient land, and that keeping ever present to their thoughts the noble instances it affords of talent, probity, and honour, they would so revere themselves as never to swerve from the dignity of their origin. It is not to our commemorated countryman alone that this monument is devoted; it is not his excellence alone that it records, but it turns the mind back in melancholy contemplation upon those national virtues which he eminently exhibited,—a love of liberty for all Irishmen, a love of independence for all Ireland, that neither time nor exile could diminish, that violence could not intimidate, and disaster could not subdue.

It is the historical fate of patriotism when exerted in advance of general intelligence to attract the vengeance of alarmed power, while it receives only the timid assent of hesitating friends. Persecuted on one side, unsustained on the other, the monumental fane of genius alone survives, and like the splendid ruins in the Palmyrene desert, gains a solemn sublimity from the surrounding desolation.

Must prudence, then, hold patriotism back until all are duly prepared for the exercise of their rights? until they learn without a preceptor to remedy their wrongs, and to

use their strength with advantage, unaided by the counsel or guidance of a friend? Tyranny would never blench at redress so long deferred, which no man could hope to see in his own day. For all good works there must be found fortitude to begin, and the messenger of truth has to preach the way of salvation though martyrdom were in its train. It was not to remain for ever unemployed that the defensive feeling which surges against oppression was planted by Providence in the human heart. We are instruments in its hands for purposes we do not see; but this much we know, that when it permitted the tyrant it ordained the patriot, and that the antagonist powers which preserve the health and symmetry of our physical frame are repeated in our intellectual nature, and given to repress the growth of moral evil. Whether we fall on serene or stormy days imports every thing to our individual happiness; but even in our sufferings we may be establishing the rights of our country.

Forty summers have closed around the United Irishmen since they made Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform the leading measures of their policy. They found all the Catholics of Ireland, the great majority of its population, reduced by the operation of the ferocious penal laws to the condition of slaves, in all things but being vendible, to the very meanest of their Protestant countrymen. Not only did the British government embrace every severity that could waste the vigour of the nation, but all the rights of humanity and every duty of life were sacrificed by its direction or connivance, so this would promote the self-interest or gratify the rancour of the favoured party.

There was a law of discovery by which a man who betrayed the confidence of his friend, if he was a Catholic, possessed himself of that friend's estate. There was a law which disabled the Catholic father to be guardian to his own child, or to educate him. There was a law which made the disobedience and apostacy of the Catholic child the means whereby to disinherit his father. There was a law for robbing a Catholic of his horse on the highway, if when interrogated he confessed his faith. There was a law to prevent the education of Catholic children, and to punish Catholic teachers as convicts: To banish the Catholic clergy, and to hang them if they returned: To prevent

Catholics from purchasing or inheriting landed estates: From having arms for their defence: To debar them from the profession of the law: To prevent them from holding any office of trust, honour, or emolument, voting at elections, or sitting in parliament.

The United Irishmen found their country under the government of those laws, and of perhaps a hundred more, all conceived in the same spirit, and all elaborated with consummate skill to rob, harass, and insult a defenceless people. Those statutes, without parallel for their inhumanity, were framed against Christians, under pretence of securing the Protestant religion. They were enacted by Irish Protestants, political Protestants, than whom no sect has cried more loudly against persecution when Protestants were the martyrs. For all this the Protestant religion is not persecuting in its nature. When true to its origin it is necessarily tolerant, and acts against its proper spirit whenever it coerces conscience, or compels uniformity of worship through means of disabilities, or subscription to its articles of faith by force of the secular arm. What indeed would be more inconsistent than to profess the right of every man to judge of Scripture for himself, and then to punish him for having done so? The crimes of the dominant party are not justly chargeable upon the Protestant religion, though committed in its name. They were bitterly deplored by the United Irishmen of all religions, and by none more than the patriot whom we commemorate; himself a member of the established church, but no abetter of its injustice.

Through all this long persecution the conduct of England wore a visor of hypocrisy. It was not the conversion of the Irish it desired, but their spoliation, division, and subjection. If united in religion, they might unite for their worldly interest, and a means of weakening them by dissension would be lost. The English mission never had the merit of even being honestly fanatical; it was cold-blooded and crafty. Its conduct was not feebly palliated by the mistaken sincerity of blind zeal, which time might soften and philosophy assuage. It had the more terrestrial motives of insatiable rapacity, the appetite for plunder, and the desire of battening on the green pastures of Ireland. This is the eating canker which neither time nor reason ever cures, and which is now as devouring as from the beginning.

After the laws had disfranchised four-fifths of the population, all the emoluments of office, all the wealth of the richest church in the world, all the distinctions of power, all the pomp, circumstance, and advantages of dominion fell into the lap of the favoured few. These men never wished to lessen the pretext of their gains; they never sought the conversion of their helots by any means that ever made proselytes to any cause.

The domestic spoliation of the Catholics was the share of the Irish Protestants in this wholesale robbery. The spoliation of the Irish nation was the part of England in the boundless plunder: she took the whole trade, prosperity, and independence of Ireland, which the Irish Protestants freely surrendered for the license to pillage and tyrannize at home. These wrongs inflicted and endured begat mutual hatred and frequent collision, and will account for the little union among Irishmen, and the ferocity of character to be found in those districts where the adverse parties came oftenest into contact.

This barter of a nation's rights for the lucre of a faction is what was called the Protestant ascendency in church and state. It was also called the British constitution. Against that impious combination of treachery within and tyranny from without, the United Irishmen pointed their oath of *union*,—"To forward a brotherhood of affection, a community of rights, an identity of interests, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion:" it was this oath, embracing the precept of "love one another," that the British government prosecuted as a felony of death, and for which it sent frequent victims to the scaffold. It was made treason by that government for Irishmen to love one another, to bury religious feuds in charity, and to promote as brothers the welfare of their native land.

Emmet did not live to behold the triumph of the Catholic cause, that happy accomplishment of one of the great measures to which he devoted fortune and life. It was in 1829 that various circumstances, domestic and foreign, among which the threatening aspect of the Catholics, their perfect union, improved knowledge, and the publicity given to their case throughout the civilized world, with the strong sympathy of America in their behalf, induced the Irish government to compel the church party in Ireland to relinquish

its ascendency over them, rather than risk the loss of its own dominion over the Irish nation.

But the subjection of conscience to those cruel inflictions was itself only incidental to a greater evil, and this one the United Irishmen aimed above all things to remove. It was the root of every other calamity, and until corrected no good could be permanent, no security could be lasting, improvement was hardly possible. This master grievance was partly the want, partly the perversion of a national representation. In the parliament of a people adequately represented, its interests are prosecuted with its consent and confidence. A knowledge of all the ameliorations in government, in the science of politics, in commerce, arts, trades, and manufactures, in every thing that affects a nation's welfare, is concentred there with the power of applying it to the public good. The discordant cry and the tumultuous impulse are there harmonized into peace and order, and commotion and rebellion are unknown where votes are competent to decide instead of swords. It was this fruitful blessing which the United Irishmen sought first of all to obtain for their country.

Down to the period of 1782, English acts of parliament were suffered to bind Ireland. Misgovernment and poverty, the neglect of agriculture, the prohibition of commerce, the abandonment of manufactures were, during that period, the portion of Ireland. But towards the end of the American war the volunteers emancipated their country from this bondage, and gave it the means of being independent. The example of America was before both parties with all its omens; hence the demands of the volunteers were prudentially conceded, and the glorious revolution of 1782 was accomplished without the loss of a drop of blood. The happy consequence was the immediate liberation of the commerce of Ireland from English restrictions. Her ensuing prosperity seemed miraculous—so prompt, so general, so enriching; and her aptitude to prosper by a free trade became known, at the same time, to her rival and herself.

But the volunteers could not be always in arms, and Ireland had no representative assembly to foster her prosperity during peace. Hers was, alas! a borough-parliament, composed solely of the dominant faction, representing but a small portion of the inhabitants, and not feeling as the na-

tion, nor as the majority. Every one soon perceived that all measures of relief would be insecure, nay illusory, unless preceded or accompanied by a reform in this parliament. The volunteers saw it, and endeavoured to reform; but they excluded the Catholics from parliament, and did not see (unhappy effects of the ignorance of the time!) that this alone would defeat their plan, that they could not erect an edifice of freedom on a foundation of monopoly. Warned by these errors, the United Irishmen altered the system of reform fundamentally. "They extended their base, and established their plan upon three simple principles, necessarily dependent on each other, and containing the disease, the remedy, and the mode of its attainment."* The excess of English influence was the disease, a reform in parliament the remedy, and the inclusion of the Catholics the mode of its attainment.

Theobald Wolfe Tone had of all others the greatest part in effecting this change of sentiment among the Protestants, to whose communion he belonged. He wrote the original declaration for the first society of United Irishmen of Belfast, and his powerful writings brought the Presbyterians of the north very generally into the system. I was among the earliest of the Catholics who joined it in Dublin, and there I first knew Emmet, and there I often heard him in strains of pure and forceful eloquence expand, inculcate, and apply, for the benefit of his beloved country, the political principles of the United Irishmen.

Wherever men had no means of legitimate redress, we have seen them become their own avengers, the worst government being always marked by the greatest commotions. If there be not an impartial administration of justice, the stiletto takes place of the jury, and for want of a government restricted and accountable in Ireland, insurrection and civil war were the resource of an exasperated people. Left without the protection of a national parliament, Ireland was always tyrannically ruled, the frame of society dislocated and broken, and her numerous insurrections were the throes of agonized nature.

But from the moment the Protestant Reformers recognised the principle that no reform was practicable, efficacious, or

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 493

just which should not equally include Irishmen of every religious persuasion, the measure was feasible. It received the assent of the whole nation, save only the established church and the other dependants of the British government. Its principle recommended itself to the common sense of mankind, and the authority of America proclaimed its benefits. In a short time its way was so far prepared by public opinion that even its interested opponents anticipated its final success. They determined, therefore, upon the desperate expedient of leaving no parliament in Ireland for reform to better. They hastened to buy from the borough-holders that which a truly Irish parliament would not sell—its own existence, and the nation's independence. They hoped to extinguish in the abolition of the parliament every chance and effort of peaceable and constitutional improvement. They conspired to transport it for life, mutilated and captive into the British House; to imprison it beyond sea, in the abyss of English supremacy, where its languishing, nerveless remains, doomed to live in a perpetual minority, could never more bring to its ill-fated country the blessings of liberty, good government, or commerce.

By the measure of a legislative union, Ireland reverts again to the same wretched state as when bound by acts of the English parliament. On the misery of that state the ablest men who ever advocated her cause, even other than United Irishmen, have exhausted eloquence and invective, and the brightest page in her history is the one which records the extorted renunciation of that usurped power and her plenary right of self-government. The pitiful representation of Ireland in a foreign land can but little avail her for her own benefit. She is there in a minority of one to six. The six give the law to the one, and with that one they have nothing in common. They have other constituents who are a different people, who have clashing interests, who have national antipathies, and who may well feel contempt for the substitutes of that parliament that traitorously sold its country. Such are the legislators who now bind Ireland in iron fetters.

The consequences are the same as heretofore; discontent and remonstrance, and a proclamation to all Europe, showing how easy it would be to dismember the United Kingdom. No loyalty will reconcile rational beings to prese

an evil which they can exchange for a good: so that they who make Ireland poor and enslaved set before her, above all other men, the advantages of separation. What can create a desire for this remedy but ill-treatment? and as long as this treatment lasts, how shall that desire discontinue? They stand in the relation of cause and effect, and will for ever go on, or cease together.

It was the opinion of Emmet that the legislative union was a measure more suited to facilitate the despotism of the ministry than to strengthen the dominion of England. Since the abuse of power has ever followed its excess, no less in nations than individuals, a restraint upon human actions is salutary for all parties, and the impediment that shall stop the career of ministerial tyranny will be found to work best for the stability of the connexion. If this operate to the good of Ireland, she will observe it for its utility, an Irish parliament being then its best preservative. If, on the contrary, it be made, as at present, to sacrifice the many to the few, it will be viewed as a curse by the Irish people, who have in all cases most power, and, in this, will have least reason to sustain it.

At present we see those persons who deny a parliament to Ireland on which to rest her peace and happiness, self-poised and self-protected; we see them sedulous to change the state of the question, and to misrepresent the repeal of the legislative union as a schism in the government. They would limit us entirely to England for benefits—whence then have come our wrongs? An Irish parliament, on the contrary, would be a bond of liberal connexion; it would settle every question of domestic policy at home, prevent strife and recrimination between both countries, secure to the affairs of Ireland a degree of attention which, however necessary, they do not and cannot obtain among the weighty concerns of a different people, in a foreign legislature. It would remove the old, opprobrious evil of legislation without representation; for wherever this is partial and foreign, it is inadequate: as relates to Ireland, it is worthless mockery. Why was a borough-constituency vicious, but because it sent men to make laws for the people who did not represent the people, who were returned by a different body, and intent only upon serving themselves and their employers.

In the same way the parliament is vicious which makes

laws to rule Ireland by men not chosen by Ireland,—who do not represent her people, who do not know her wants or wishes, and who must be often biased by an adverse interest.

The attributes of genius are not rare among the Irish and American countrymen of Emmet, and time is constantly developing the resources of mind. The labours of intellect press onward for distinction, while names of high endowment are forced back to make room for new reputations. They alone will be long remembered who have acted with an impulsive power on the destinies of their country and kind. Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland, who exposed its cause and prepared its cure, Emmet is distinguished. He had great influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which, in part obtained, in part withheld, are determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics, when that measure had few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents, and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant church redeemed the error of their predecessors. It is due to their memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of the age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing at the bar, and of his commanding eloquence, exerted upon every befitting occasion, strenuously advanced those principles and policy for which we now do honour to his name. The adversaries of Ireland's freedom laboured to calumniate her best friends, and to hold up the United Irishmen especially as wanton rebels, as if indeed there had been any lawful authority in the way. We hold them up in their deeds as benefactors to their country, as opposed to religious persecution, and the tyrannical rule of a foreign government. Let their solemn oath, for which they suffered exile and death and the martyrdom of calumny upon their fame, decide between them and their enemies. It stands emblazoned before the world upon that pillar, from which the hand of rancorous power cannot erase its purport, where malice cannot belie its truth, where the sons of Erin may

ever read the principles and policy that point their way to freedom.

By this monument the countrymen of Emmet, sympathizing in his personal and family misfortunes incurred for the liberty of Ireland, and being justly proud of his character and genius, determined to give them a more lasting tribute than sighs and tears could be expected to afford. Fortunately for his fame, the delineation of his character was given by members of his own enlightened profession, with whom he lived in daily intercourse for twenty-seven years. They were too liberal to lessen, too discriminating to exaggerate his qualifications; their testimony is impartial as it is favourable, and I adopt it as the surest mode of fulfilling, according to my desire, the pious offices of patriotism and friendship.

It was justly observed by an eminent member of our bar, "that as but a small portion, comparatively, of Emmet's life belonged to history, and as he left no writings by which the evidence of his extraordinary genius and attainments would be transmitted to future times, it was the more necessary for his reputation, for the honour of his admirers, for truth and justice, that the inscription on his monument should be ample in the delineation of his character, of the qualities of his mind, the extent of his learning, and the powers of his eloquence; and should thus assign to him, distinctly and fearlessly, the rank to which his compeers and judges thought him entitled. Without such details there would be no witness of the estimation in which his paramount talents were held by his contemporaries. Without them there would be neither 'honoris signum' nor 'incitamentum gloriæ.' "It was my fortune," continues Mr. Duer, "to know him from his first arrival in this city, and to hear him, I think, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. I know too that my opinion is unbiased, since, from peculiar causes, there were no relations between us beyond those of mere civility. Thomas Addis Emmet, in head and in heart, and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; and as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in argumentative power, in persuasive skill, in chastised

fervour, in true pathos, the abilities of Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre. His large and philosophic views of society, government, and law; his ample stores of knowledge; his unrivalled promptitude and invariable self-command; his elocution, flowing, copious, rapid, unlimited in the range, most fortunate in the choice of his language; his brilliant imagination and ardent feelings, when most excited, disciplined to obey the suggestions of his reason; his powers of sarcasm and irony, rarely exerted, but when put forth, resistless; and above all, that *imperiatorial* tone (if the phrase be allowed) which his superior genius enabled him, without affectation, to assume, in a deliberative and popular assembly, would have combined to invest him with controlling sway."

"The amenity of his manners," as was said by another member of the bar, Mr. Charles Patterson, "the urbanity of his deportment, the excellence of his heart, and his kindness to the younger members of the profession, all rendered him a model for imitation, and are for ever engraven on the hearts of those with whom he was associated. Of that bar he might well be called the father, 'Et Decus Et Tutamen.' He devoted his whole soul to his profession, midnight vigils too often followed the severe labours of the forum—and no client ever complained that the merits of his case had not been perceived and sustained. His knowledge was profound—his researches to his last moments unremitting. He possessed a mind of extraordinary comprehension, and the strongest and most extensive powers of analysis—he enjoyed the secret of identifying himself with his case, and adding a sort of personal interest to his professional obligation. Endowed with a brilliant imagination, fortified with accurate and discriminating views of English history, enriched with all the fruits of various knowledge, and blessed with a noble enthusiasm, he appeared before the bar the very model of a learned, accomplished, and eloquent lawyer."

IN MEMORY OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

Who
Exemplified in his conduct,
And adorned by his
Integrity,
The policy and principles
Of the United Irishmen—
"To forward a brotherhood
Of affection,
A community of rights,
An identity of interests,
And a union of power
Among Irishmen
Of every religious persuasion,
As the only means of Ireland's
Chief good,
An impartial and adequate
Representation
In an Irish Parliament."
For this,
(Mysterious fate of virtue!)
Exiled from his native land.

In America, the land of freedom,
He found a second country,
Which paid his love
By reverencing his genius.
Learned in our laws
And in the laws of Europe,
In the literature of our times
And in that of antiquity,
All knowledge
Seemed subject to his use.
An orator of the first order,
Clear, copious, fervid,
Alike powerful
To kindle the imagination,
Touch the affections,
And sway the reason and the will.

Simple in his tastes,
Unassuming in his manners,
Frank, generous, kind-hearted,
And honourable,
His private life was beautiful,
As his public course was
Brilliant.

Anxious to perpetuate
The name and example of such a man,
Alike illustrious by his
Genius, his virtues, and his fate;
Consecrated to their affections
By his sacrifices, his perils,
And the deeper calamities
Of his kindred,
In a just and holy cause;
His sympathizing countrymen
Erected this monument and
Cenotaph.

Born at Cork, 24th April, 1764,
He died in this city,
14th November, 1827.

M. S.

THOMÆ ADDIS EMMET.

Qui
Ingenio illustri, studiis altioribus,
Moribus integris,
Dignum
Se præstabat laudibus illis,
Illa reverentia, illo
Amore
Quæ semper eum viventem
Prosequebantur;
Et subita illo erepto, morte,
Universæ in luctum civitatis
Se effuderunt.

Quum raro extiterit vir
Naturæve dotibus, doctrinæve subsidiis
Omnibus illo instructior ;
Tum eloquentia, altâ illâ et verâ
Qualem olim mirabantur Roma
Athenæque,
Præcipue alios anteibat :
Gravis, varius, vehemens, fervidus,
Omnes animi motus sic regere norît,
Uti eos qui audirent, quo vellet
Et invitos impelleret.
Hibernià natus,
Dilectam sibi patriam diu subjectam
Alieno, servis tantum ferendo, jugo,
Ad libertatem, ad sua jura vocare
Magno est ausus animo ;
At præclara et consilia et vota
Fefellere fata.
Tum infelicis littora Iernæ
Reliquit,
Spe, non animo, dejectus
Nobilis exsul ;
Et hæc Americana libens Respublica
Illum excepit, civemque, sibi
Gratulans adscivit ;
Dein hæc civitas illi domus,
Hæc patria fuit,
Hæc gloriam illi auxit, hæc
Spiritus ultimos
Recepit.

Mærentium civium voluntas
Hoc exegit monumentum.

Do mannı se ardmath
. Cum tır a breıt
Do tug se clue es fuır se mollad
A tter a bass.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Clinton.

Albany, 22d November, 1827.

Dear Sir,

I have been honoured with a letter from you, as Chairman of a Committee of the Bar of New-York, requesting me to pronounce a eulogium on the deceased Mr. Emmet, and leaving the time to my convenience. With the latitude allowed me as to time, I shall certainly consider it due to the friendship (as ardent as sincere) which I always entertained for that illustrious man, and the high respect which I have cherished for his virtues and talents, to comply with a request which I consider an honour. I regret that my official duties and arrangements will not permit me to perform this sacred duty of friendship until May next.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, your friend,

DEWITT CLINTON.

Wm. Sampson, Esq., Chairman, &c.

Copy of a Letter from Judge Story.

Washington, February 27, 1829.

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter yesterday. I should long since have complied with your request in regard to Mr. Emmet, if I could have found suitable leisure to sit down, and make even a sketch of him, such as I thought him to be in character and attainments. Hitherto I have sought such leisure in vain.

It was in the winter of 1815, that I first became acquainted with Mr. Emmet. He was then for the first time, in attendance upon the Supreme Court at Washington, being engaged in some important prize causes then pending in the court. Although at that period he could have been little, if any, turned of fifty years of age, the deep lines of care were marked upon his face, the sad remembrances, as I should conjecture, of past sufferings, and of those anxieties which wear themselves into the heart, and corrode life at its vitals. There was an air of subdued thoughtfulness about him that read to me the lessons of other interests than those which belonged to mere professional life. He was

cheerful, but rarely, if ever, gay; frank and courteous, but he soon relapsed into gravity when not excited by the conversation of others.

Such, I remember, were my early impressions; and his high professional character, as well as some passages in his life, gave me a strong interest in all that concerned him at that time. There were, too, some accidental circumstances which were connected with his arguments on that occasion, which left a vivid recollection upon all who had the pleasure of hearing him. It was at this time, that Mr. Pinckney, of Baltimore, one of the proudest names in the annals of the American bar, was in the meridian of his glory. He had been often tried in the combats of the forum of the nation, and if he did not stand wholly alone the undisputed victor of the field, (and it might be deemed invidious for me to point out any one as *primus inter pares*), he was, nevertheless, admitted by the general voice not to be surpassed by any of the noble minds with whom he was accustomed to wrestle in forensic contests. Mr. Emmet was a new and untried opponent, and brought with him the ample honours won at one of the most distinguished bars in the Union. In the only causes in which Mr. Emmet was engaged, Mr. Pinckney was retained on the other side; and each of these causes was full of important matter, bearing upon the public policy and prize law of the country. Curiosity was awakened; their mutual friends waited for the struggle with impatient eagerness; and a generous rivalry, roused by the public expectations, imparted itself to their own bosoms. A large and truly intelligent audience was present at the argument of the first cause. It was not one which gave much scope to Mr. Emmett's peculiar powers. The topic was one with which he was not very familiar. He was new to the scene, and somewhat embarrassed by its novelty. His argument was clear and forcible, but he was conscious that it was not one of his happiest efforts. On the other hand, his rival was perfectly familiar with the whole range of prize law; he was at home, both in the topic and the scene. He won an easy victory, and pressed his advantages with vast dexterity, and, as Mr. Emmet thought, with somewhat of the display of triumph. The case of the Nereide, so well known in our prize history, was soon afterward called on for trial. In this second effort Mr. Emmet was far more successful. His speech was greatly admired for its force and

fervour, its variety of research, and its touching eloquence. It placed him at once, by universal consent, in the first rank of American advocates. I do not mean to intimate that it placed him before Mr. Pinckney, who was again his noble rival for victory. But it settled, henceforth and for ever, his claims to very high distinction in the profession. In the course of the exordium of this speech he took occasion to mention the embarrassment of his own situation, the novelty of the forum, and the public expectations which accompanied the cause. He spoke with generous praise of the talents and acquirements of his opponent, whom fame and fortune had followed both in Europe and America. And then, in the most delicate and affecting manner, he alluded to the events of his own life, in which misfortune and sorrow had left many deep traces of their ravages. "My ambition," said he, "was extinguished in my youth; and I am admonished by the premature advances of age not now to attempt the dangerous paths of fame." At the moment when he spoke, the recollections of his sufferings melted the hearts of the audience, and many of them were dissolved in tears. Let me add, that the argument of Mr. Pinckney, also, was a most splendid effort, and fully sustained his reputation.

From that period I was accustomed to hear Mr. Emmet at the bar of the Supreme Court in almost every variety of causes; and my respect for his talents constantly increased until the close of his life. I take pleasure in adding, that his affability, his modest and unassuming manner, his warm feelings, and his private virtues gave a charm to his character which made it at once my study and delight.

It would ill become me to attempt a sketch of the character of Mr. Emmet. That is the privilege, and will be (as it ought) the melancholy pleasure of those who were familiar with him in every walk of life, to whom he unbosomed himself in the freedom of intimacy, and who have caught the light plays of his fancy, as well as the more profound workings of his soul.

That he had great qualities as an orator cannot be doubted by any one who has heard him. His mind possessed a good deal of the fervour which characterizes his countrymen. It was quick, vigorous, searching, and buoyant. He kindled as he spoke. There was a spontaneous combustion, as it were, not sparkling, but clear and glowing. His rhetoric

was never florid; and his diction, though select and pure, seemed the common dress of his thoughts as they arose, rather than any studied effort at ornament. Without being deficient in imagination, he seldom drew upon it for resources to aid the effect of his arguments, or to illustrate his thoughts. His object seemed to be, not to excite wonder or surprise, to captivate by bright pictures and varied images, and graceful groups, and startling apparitions; but by earnest and close reasoning to convince the judgment; or to overwhelm the heart by awakening its most profound emotions. His own feelings were warm and easily touched. His sensibility was keen, and refined itself almost into a melting tenderness. His knowledge of the human heart was various and exact. He was easily captivated by the belief that his own cause was just. Hence his eloquence was most striking for its persuasiveness. He said what he felt; and he felt what he said. His command over the passions of others was an instantaneous and sympathetic action. The tones of his voice when he touched on topics calling for deep feelings were themselves instinct with meaning. They were utterances of the soul as well as of the lips.

Salem, August 22, 1829.

Dear Sir,

The foregoing letter was written many months ago, and principally when I was at Washington. My intention was to give a sketch of Mr. Emmet; but I soon found that I could not command leisure for the purpose at that period; and the judicial duties of my circuit and other avocations since, have until this moment prevented me from resuming the thread of my remarks. I now despair of being able to finish what I had begun, as my whole time during the ensuing autumn will be occupied by my new law professorship. I send you the sketch, such as it is, not in the expectation that it can be of the slightest use to you, but to show you that I had not been unmindful of your suggestion, and should have received pleasure from the task.

Believe me, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your much obliged friend and servant,

JOSEPH STORY.

William Sampson, Esq.

THOMÆ ADDIS EMMET,

Viro
Doctrina Juris Scientia Eloquentia
Præstantissimo
Inter hæc subsellia et officii munera
Subita morte correpto
Socii forenses posuerunt.

THE END.

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